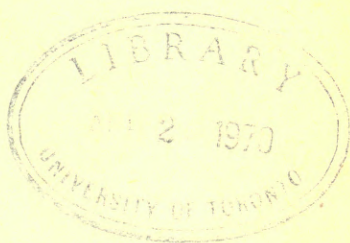


ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE CANADIAN CLUB OF HAMILTON

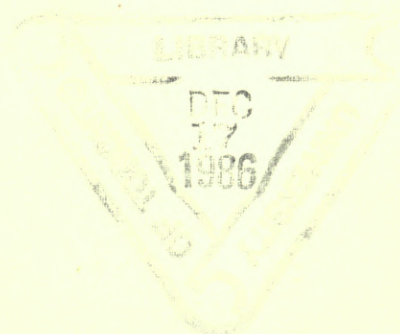
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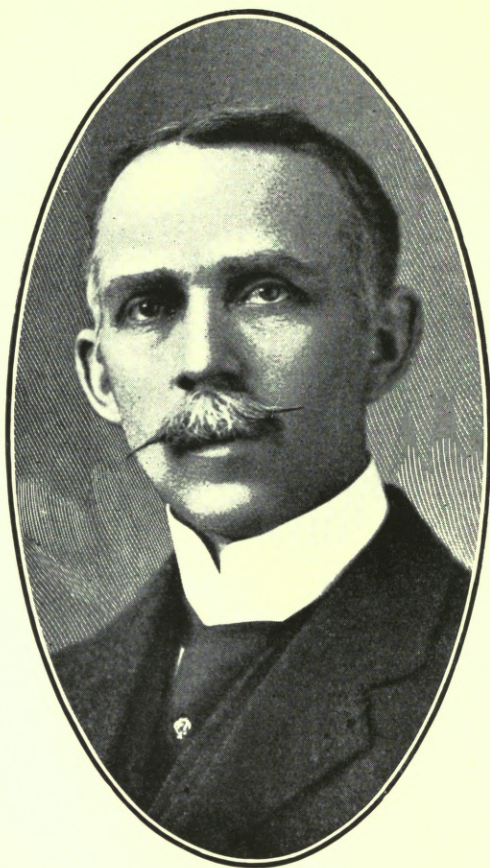
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First Vice-President of Canadian Club of Hamilton in 1912-13, and
President this year.

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C. R. McCULLOUGH.
Hon. President, Canadian Club of Hamilton.

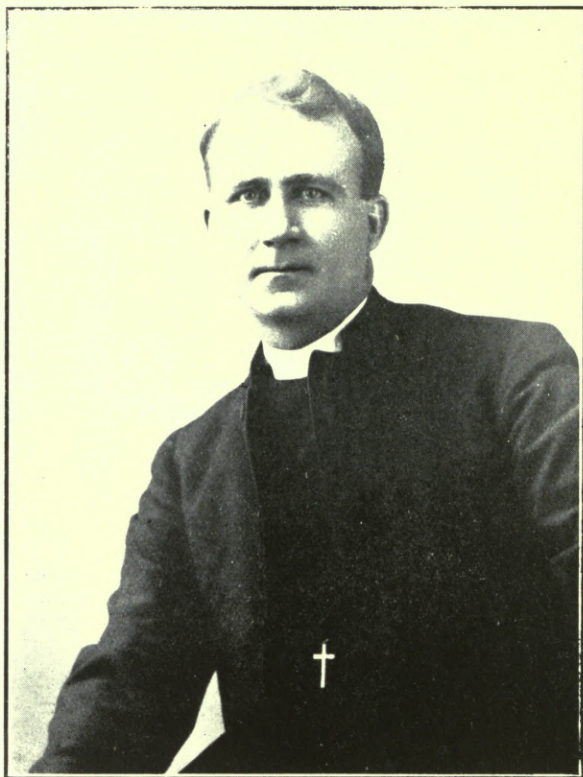
The Canadian Club Movement.

ON the evening of the sixth of December in the year 1892—twenty-one years ago—six young men met on the invitation of Charles R. McCullough in his office in the Commercial Centre Building in Hamilton, Ontario, to consider ways and means of establishing a society that would interest young men and develop them as Canadian citizens. At this little meeting there were assembled James Ferres, chairman; Charles R. McCullough, secretary; W. Sanford Evans, Henry Carpenter, George D. Fearman and John T. Hall. There and then the Canadian Club had its birth.

The little band of founders immediately proceeded to draft a letter inviting their fellow townsmen to assemble later for the purpose of discussing the matter and of furthering the project in view. By February first, 1893, such progress had been made that a representative gathering met in the rooms of the Hamilton Association in the Public Library Building, when the following resolution was introduced by Mr. McCullough, seconded by Mr. Evans, and carried with enthusiasm :

“ Recognizing the deep importance to Canada of the cultivation of a spirit of patriotism in the hearts of her people (and particularly of the young men upon whom will rest the duties of the future), and in view of the fact that only under the stimulus of an active patriotism has any nation become great, it is, in the opinion of this meeting, a fit and proper time to take definite steps, however humble, to deepen and widen the regard of Canadians for the land of their birth or adoption, and to increase their interest in matters affecting the welfare of their country. Be it therefore resolved that this meeting proceed to the organization of a society to be known as The Canadian Club, having for its object the encouragement of the study of the history, literature and resources of Canada, the recognition of native worth and talent and the fostering of a patriotic Canadian sentiment.

“ Be it further resolved that the membership shall be open to all Canadians who may be in sympathy with the patriotic and educative aims of the society, apart from any designs of political partizanship.”



REV. ROBERT JOHN RENISON, D. D.,
Rector Church of the Ascension, Hamilton.

THE CANADIAN CLUB OF HAMILTON.

ADDRESSES 1912-13.

Fourteen Years on the Canadian Mediterranean.

BY REV. ROBERT JOHN RENISON, D. D.

(November 1, 1912.)

I CONSIDER it a very great privilege to be allowed to address the Canadian Club in the city of its birth. Two years ago, when I was residing in Northern Ontario, I saw something of the spirit engendered by this admirable institution in one of our newest communities. It was my privilege to address the first organized Canadian Club in the mining town of Porcupine. In that somewhat variegated community this was the one institution which drew men of many ideals together in a bond of common fellowship.

The growth of the Canadian National spirit is one of the most remarkable signs of our times. There seems to be something in this great country of ours which supplies all the requisites of national character. I have sometimes thought that the Canadian of the past has been apologetically over-modest about his own country. We ought never to ignore the fact that history, climate and environment do much to build up nations, and in these particular sources of wealth Canada is fortunate.

When the Canadian tourist visits the south land in winter, sometimes he longs for the ease and beauty of the tropics when for instance he sits on the deck of a Pacific liner anchored off the shore of some palm girdled island where the phosphorescent waves wash upon a golden shore,

and the climate is summer-like and it is always afternoon, the son of old Ontario may sometimes wish that his home was not in a land where the thermometer falls to 30 below zero in February and where coal is not \$8.00 a ton. However, one of the most insistent lessons of history has been that the sceptre of empire during the last 500 years has been handed successively to nations who live in the Northern Zone. There is an undoubted inspiration in the struggle against the rigours of climate and the difficulties of nature, something that our Canadian householder ought to remember when he arises betimes on a winter morning to stimulate a reluctant furnace.

Mr. Chairman, I imagine that there are few Canadians who realize the size of this country of ours. My subject tonight is the Canadian Mediterranean, otherwise known as Hudson Bay, an inland sea somewhat the shape of a ham with the large end pointing north-west and with the shank forming James Bay, the most southerly point of which is Moose Factory, just 700 miles north of Hamilton.

I remember some two years ago discussing in Winnipeg the subject of the new government railroad to Hudson Bay, and a loyal son of Manitoba in speaking of this undertaking, insisted that people who lived at Moose Factory would be in touch with civilization when the railroad was built to Churchill. It is true that both of these points are on Hudson Bay, but nevertheless, from Moose Factory to Hamilton is more than 200 miles nearer than from Moose Factory to Churchill, which statement will give you some idea of the extent of Hudson Bay.

At the present moment the question of the navigation of Hudson Straits is discussed everywhere. As one who has seen something of the actual conditions, I would say that it is very hard to speak exactly of conditions which vary every year. Roughly speaking, Hudson Bay itself is navigable for five or six months of the year, but Hudson Straits, the long, narrow passage, 300 miles from the entrance to Southampton Island, and some places only 60 miles wide, is full of drifting ice for nine months of the year. Most of this ice is detached from the great ice floes in the Arctic and is carried by the current down the coast of Labrador out into the Gulf Stream. I can only say that for the last 150 years the Hudson Bay Company sailing vessels have come every year with the supplies which once satisfied two-thirds of the territory now called Canada. In the last ten years a vessel of 2200 tons has come every August to the Port of Stretton Island in James Bay. Probably there are

difficulties in this new trade route which are not appreciated by the ordinary farmer of Saskatchewan, but it is inevitable that some time this country should fight its way as all others have done to the ultimate sea.

I am not a prophet or a prophet's son, but I expect to see the day when the Hudson Bay Express will leave the Toronto Union Station, and excursionists will leave the wharf at Nelson to run the gauntlet of Hudson Straits, where tourists may watch the northern lights, with guides in attendance to explain the difference between an iceberg and a polar bear, and distinguish Cape Farewell from Baffin Land.

The territory surrounding Hudson Bay is drained by great rivers flowing from the height of land. Beginning on the western side there is the Churchill, the Nelson, the Severn, the Attawapiscut, the Albany, the Moose, the Nattaway, the Rupert River, the Fort George and the Great and Little Whale Rivers, the length varying from three to seven hundred miles. Even at the present time the inhabitants of the Northern Slope obtain their yearly supplies from England, the cost of transportation on the overland route being quite prohibitive. It may perhaps be news to some of you that Moose Factory was the first English capital on the soil of Canada. For 200 years from Moose Factory and York, the interior posts of Rupert's Land, were supplied from England. Even as far north as the mouth of the Mackenzie the canoes from Norway House penetrated with supplies which came the year before through Hudson Straits.

As a missionary, I have naturally been interested in the human equation, and I would like to say something to-night in defence of my friend the Indian.

Those who have only known the degenerate living on the border line of civilization, a melancholy wreck of what was once a man, cannot understand the soul of the unspoiled Indian of the forest. He is one of nature's gentlemen. If I could take you tonight to the wigwam of one of my Cree friends in Northern Kewatin, as soon as you entered the wigwam, everything that he had would be at your disposal, the finest haunch of venison would be prepared for you, all that he had would be yours, and if he came to visit you he would expect to be treated in the same way.

He might lack something of the polish of our own civilization, probably he would have no use for a fork in eating his meat, but Richard Coeur de Lion, King of England, would not have known what to do with the implements on

a modern dinner table; his wife will probably have no silk stockings, but the queens of England did not have them till the days of Elizabeth. One sometimes wonders what civilization really is. We Anglo-Saxons calmly take for granted that our own conception of life is the only rational one. It is sometimes amusing to hear the criticism of the Indian of the life of the white man. My old friend Chief Solomon of Albany has often told me that all white people were mad. Said he: "You white people can never rest. You do not know how to enjoy life. In the first place you're always building houses of wood, of mud, or of stone, like so many beaver, and having built your houses you then are afraid to leave them. I have been even told that you cannot rest at night, that the white man has invented a diabolical machine that wakes him up with a fearful noise before daybreak and sends him away to toil in a factory so that he scarcely ever sees his wife and children by daylight. I would sooner be dead than live like that. As for me, I rise in the morning on the banks of the Albany River and if the day is fine, I call to my boys and we strike the tents and load the canoe and paddle forty or fifty miles down the winding stream at our own sweet will. When the sunset gilds the tops of the trees in the evening I gently push the canoe ashore on the sand. Five minutes will lift the tent and five minutes more will light the fire, and there with the stars of the Kitche Muneto shining down upon me wherever I am, I am at home.

This is the Indian's conception of life, and who shall say that he is not entitled to his simple existence as much as you and I are to our more complex definition of existence?

Many have too hastily concluded that the Indian is rapidly becoming extinct. I had the honor of taking the census on the shores of the Hudson Bay and on the tributary rivers last year, and I must confess that I was rather surprised to find that there were more Indians than there were ten years ago. It must be confessed that the Canadian Government has always been very anxious to treat the Indian justly and generously, and if the government and churches have made mistakes, the mistakes have been caused by error in judgment. Perhaps it has too readily been assumed that the only future of the Indian is as a competitor with the Pale Face on the farm, in the factory, or in the office. As a matter of fact, all the railroads of Canada will not be able to build an iron fence around the Indian in the north country for decades to come. There is abundant room for him to live his simple life. Two or three years ago the

wave of conservation which has been passing over North America reached the Government of Ontario and it was determined that the forests of Northern Ontario ought to be conserved for future generations. The idea is undoubtedly a wise one, but the first forest rangers who were sent out were university students, who knew something of algebra and Latin but did not know the difference between a frying pan and a paddle or between a birch tree and a poplar.

Now here we have work for which the Indian has ideal qualifications. He is a graduate of the University of Nature; for hundreds of years he has learned to interpret the mystery of the forest, the secret places of the wild animal are all known to him. I hope he may be used in the future in the environment for which he has been born. As a woodsman, a hunter, a canoe man he has genius all his own, but his gossamer lungs were not spun to breathe the smoke of factories or endure the confinement of a tenement house.

One of the most remarkable things in the life of a pioneer missionary is the fact that he must adapt himself to many unexpected situations. I shall never forget when I landed a very slender youth in the district village of Albany to succeed a veteran missionary who had spent forty-six years as the guide, philosopher and friend of seven hundred Indians. The old man welcomed me very kindly, and as he gave me his parting advice I felt very young and inefficient. He was a very large man with shoulders like an oaken door and a certain direct power of speech which was very impressive. He said to me: "My boy, my last advice to you is to remember that you are here the only white man among many Indians. You are the representative of civilization. Never confess that you don't know, but always do the best you can under any circumstances." He loaded his canoes and departed with all his Lares et Penates to his well-earned rest in civilization. I felt very lonely that night as I wandered around in the empty house. At last the village invalid came to call upon the new missionary. His name was Sakabukiskum. He entered with a great air of mystery and importance and spoke such words as these: "I am the sickest man in Hudson Bay. I have got a wonderful disease that no one can cure. The old man did his best, but he lived so long that he did not know the new tricks of the medicine men who live in the white man's land, so I have come to you although you are young, to know whether you can help me." I asked him to sit down for a moment while I went upstairs to ponder over the

situation. I had nothing in the way of luggage but a suit case, and as I wandered around the empty room I came on an old cupboard and in this cupboard I saw some ancient bottles covered with dust. On inspection, it turned out that these bottles had contained hair oil of which the old man was very fond. I picked up one short square bottle about a quarter full of a red liquid known as Rowland's Macassar Oil. I thought "perhaps this will do," and taking it down to the kitchen, filled it up with warm water from the kettle and really it looked splendid. Taking out the bottle to the invalid, I said to him, "Thomas, this is a fine medicine for a stiff heart. Take half of this tonight and the other half in the morning and I think you will be all right." He went away and I forgot all about it. The next morning as I looked out of the window I saw something like a ship at sea beating its way along the path. Sometimes the apparition leaned against the fence, sometimes sat down by the wayside, and as it drew nearer, I found that it was an Indian wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Whenever an Indian thinks he is going to die, he puts his rabbit-skin blanket around him, a sort of combination between a dressing gown and a shroud. As the Indian leaned against the door of the house, weakly talking to himself, I didn't recognize my visitor of the day before. He said to me: "Don't you recognize the Indian that came for medicine yesterday?" I asked him if he wanted any more, but he carefully brought out the bottle from under his blanket. It was half empty and he confessed that it was the strongest and most efficient medicine that he ever tasted. It quite cured him of his heart trouble.

Winter travel was one of the greatest joys in the north country. We always used husky dogs on the sea coast but travelling in the interior where there is no path, dogs are useless. One has to walk on snow-shoes, hauling a toboggan. About three years ago I remember hearing for the first time that great numbers of white men had been seen by our Indians some two hundred miles south of the salt water. The Indians brought wonderful reports of the activity of the white men who were clearing the forest for the new Transcontinental Railroad. One bright morning in February, my Indian and I packed our toboggan, a certain number of cakes were baked to last for nine days, bacon was cut into slices, allowing three slices for each meal for each man. Tea and sugar and a rabbit skin blanket were loaded on the sled and we were ready to start. Remember

there isn't a road in the country. One follows the bed of the river except where the rapids make it necessary to take to the bush. One man walks in front breaking a trail on snow-shoes for two hours, then the other takes his turn and so procession continues till it is time for dinner.

I remember a Lady's Club once asked me how we knew when it was time for dinner. Well, when you have hauled a toboggan through a trench of snow for four hours we don't need a clock to tell us that it is dinner time. One man jumps off his snow-shoes and immediately sinks to his waist in the deep snow. He digs a hole down to the ground which he lines with aromatic spruce boughs, the other man cuts down a dry tree and soon a fire is blazing. You split the cakes with an axe and thaw them out under the fire. The bacon is put on the pan, the kettle filled with ice and snow, packed down tight and a handful of tea thrown in. When the snow comes to the boil, the tea is made. This perhaps seems rather crude but the result is very refreshing. At night-time a larger trench is dug in the snow and after supper we both used to climb in to the same rabbit-skin bag and under the glittering of the electric stars we slept a kind of sleep that you don't get in a sanitarium.

The territory where the Transcontinental Railroad is now clearing the forest is being rapidly settled by our kith and kin. The land itself is fertile, the climate is bracing and healthy but there are very many difficulties to be overcome before the colonist, especially if he be from the Old Country, can make a prosperous home. The government should extend every legitimate assistance to those of our race who have given up home and comfort in order that they may fulfil that strange call to hardship which has been the characteristic of our men from the days of Humphrey Gilbert. I am convinced that the sons and daughters of those who are clearing the forests of Keewatin will rise up and call their fathers blessed, because there is a mysterious attraction in Northern Canada to be found nowhere else on this continent. It is passing strange, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that many of our modern poets derive their inspiration anywhere but from the land of their birth. The reason why many of the great poets of the past are living today while some who are publishing books are dead ones is because they persist in drinking their inspiration from the Thames, the Tiber or the Styx. Men like Robert Service and the Khan have certainly caught the spirit of the Canada of the future. I desire in closing to quote to you some lines:

Have you known the Great White Silence, not a snow gemmed twig
 aquiver,

 Eternal truths that mock our soothing lies ?

Have you broken trail on snow-shoes, mushed by our huskies up
 the river,

 Dared the Unknown, led the day and clutched the prize ?

Have you marked the earth's void spaces, mingled with the mongrel
 races,

 Felt the savage strength of life in every thew ;

And though grim as Death the zone is, can you ward it off with
 curses ?

 Then listen to the NORTH. 'Tis calling you.

Have you suffered, starved and triumphed, grovelled down yet
 grasped at glory,

 Grown bigger with the vastness of the whole ;

Have you done things for the doing, letting others tell the story,

 Seeing through the nice veneer the naked soul ?

Have you seen God in his splendors, heard the text that Nature
 renders ;

 You'll never hear it in the family pew—

The simple things, the true things, the silent men who do things ?

Then listen to the NORTH. 'Tis calling you.

They have cradled you in fashion, they have proved you with their
 preaching,

 They have soaked you in convention through and through ;

They have put you in a show case—you're a credit to their
 teaching—

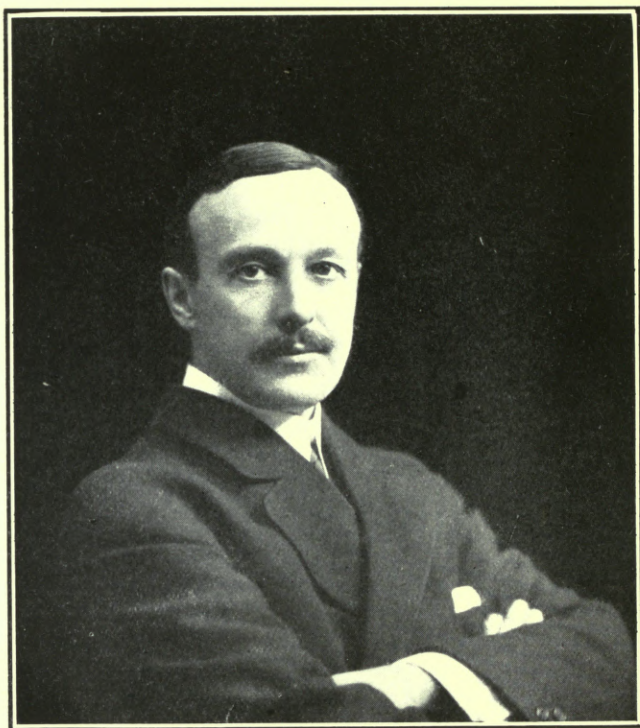
 But can't you hear the North. 'Tis calling you.

Let us probe the silent places, let us seek what luck betide us,

 Let us journey to a lonely land I know,

There's a music in the night wind, there's a star agleam to guide
 us,

 And the NORTH is calling, calling. Let us go !



S. MORLEY WICKETT, Ph. D.,
Alderman, Toronto.

City Government by Commission.

S. MORLEY WICKETT, Ph. D.

(November 1912.)

IN the audience, I am told, are a number of members of the Local Council. May I take the opportunity to say a word in their praise. Too many of us sit back and persuade ourselves that we have not the time or the aptitude or the means, or something else to offer ourselves for public work.

In these days when private interests too often crowd out public service, let us give praise where it is due, and express our thanks to those who are doing their part in our Municipal Councils.

In this country the sense of public service seems pretty well developed along certain lines. Our Parliaments are fairly well served, and a great deal of splendid support is given to church and other private philanthropic undertakings. But just in respect of municipal government it must be admitted we are open to some criticism.

Certainly there is ample reason for us to change our attitude. We are accustomed to describe our Canadian population as predominantly agricultural. Yet probably as much as 45 per cent. of our people live in towns and cities of 4,000 and over; while the budgets of some of our cities bulk almost as large as the budgets of their respective provinces, and in the aggregate municipal expenditures form no inconsiderable part, and a rapidly growing one at that, of Canadian public finance. The sales of our municipal bonds 1809-12 reached a total of \$190,000,000, apart from \$30,000,000 held over awaiting a more favorable market. These are big figures.

During the last ten years our rural population increased 17 per cent, but our urban population, that is the people living in places of 4,000 or more, 62 per cent. In the United States the rural increase was 11 per cent, the urban for towns and cities of 2,000 or more, 35 per cent.

As regards urban population, 45 per cent. of our people are so returned as against 53 per cent. in the United States, and these figures are only typical of the world-wide rush to the cities. For example, in 1871, one-fourth of the people in Germany lived in towns and cities of 5,000 or more, as

against over half to-day. In England four out of every five are urban residents. Only 150 years ago the population of London was but half a million, as against upwards of six millions to-day, making it the greatest city of any age.

Just as London, England, in point of population is more or less of a modern city, so City Government on a large scale is a modern problem. It is indeed one of the great problems of modern democracy. The few great cities of antiquity you could count on the fingers of your one hand, and even then their size was not as great as popular imagination often pictures. The town of the middle ages was as a rule a small affair, more of the nature of a fortress, usually walled about and with moat and drawbridge. It was a centre of trade as well as of defence against the barons living in their fortified chateaus. Not until the invention and application of steam do we find great centres of industry and social life everywhere springing up. The steam engine is the father of the modern city. It was therefore about the end of the first quarter of last century that the rush to the town began, accelerating greatly during the past thirty or forty years.

Roads in the medieval town were more like bridle paths, water was procured privately, drainage was by open sewer. When one sallied forth by night one carried like Shakespeare's Romeo, one's own torch, took one's own bodyguard, and on returning home locked the doors, put up the shutters, and trusted to Providence. The chief public concern of the town, outside of defence was the regulation of the local market, weights and measures, etc. How different all this to-day. We must have well-paved roads, underground sewers, street lighting, police, fire protection, fresh water in every house, hospitals, street cars, public libraries, markets, concert halls, municipal pawnshops possibly, etc. etc. It is a new world, this city world, and the end is not yet. From the point of view of municipal organization it means that the problem is not a simple one; and it is just as important as it is intricate.

As regards Commission Government a good many Canadians have probably got their first idea from the example of the City of Washington. It was the practice of the late Mr. Goldwin Smith to point to Washington's commission of three, appointed by Congress, as the model for economy and efficiency. In respect of efficiency his reference was apt; but in our enthusiasm for clean and efficient government we must not be led to overlook what is the real practical problem, namely, how we can get, by popular vote, the best possible government. It is all very well to talk of ideal legislation; the idealist must tell us how to get his ideal men.

Professor Marshall, the dean of English Economists, was once asked his opinion as to the usefulness of such books as More's "Utopia," and Bellamy's "Looking Backward." His reply was they were so unreal and out of touch with practical conditions that they were of comparatively little practical value, and might be quite misleading. In the same way Washington as model, may easily lead us to overlook the very essence of the problem to which we have addressed ourselves, namely, democracy in action. And on this point Washington is, of course, silent. In other words, to solve our problem we must discover how we can secure the best men available for the three classes of work called for, legislative, administrative and technical.

The United States is the world's great experiment in democracy, and so we turn with interest to any form of Government that has been tried there with even a modicum of success. But before referring in detail to the experiment of City Government by Commission in that country let us see how Municipal Government is carried on in Europe, especially as it is usually well done there.

The Council.—Everywhere a fairly large Council is retained as the legislating body; committees in one form or another do the administering, and officials the technical work. One difference between Europe and ourselves in this respect is that Europe has well-defined traditions as to this division of work, whereas we are only developing them. A striking example with us is the frequent jealousy between Committees of Council and our Boards of Control. But friction of this kind will doubtless pass away as our organization and traditions mature.

In Europe the council's chief business is to legislate, that is, to discuss and decide policy. The number of councillors is larger than with us. In France it runs from ten to thirty-six, though Paris has eighty and Lyons forty-four; English councils range generally from nine to seventy-two; the minimum for Prussian Councils is thirty, with roughly an additional six for each fifty thousand above a population of ten thousand. Berlin's Council has 144; Leipsic 72, etc.

French Councils are elected for four years, the English for three years, one-third retiring annually, the Prussian for six years, one-third retiring every two years. Salaries are never paid, though France permits a limited allowance for expenses, which are, however, slight, in that elections are held only once in four years. About ten per cent. of the French cities have wards; elsewhere wards are uniformly found.

Municipal Administration, France.—Whatever it is in

practice in the popular mind Commission government is government by experts instead of by amateurs. Any country approaches that ideal the greater the importance it attaches to the work of its administrators and of its departmental heads. In France the administrative heads are a Prefect representing the Central Government, and a Mayor, selected by the Council from its own members, and like the Council, holding office for four years. The Mayor appoints and may suspend or dismiss all officials except the Treasurer. The Prefect chooses the Treasurer from a list of three submitted by the Council. In keeping with the method of his appointment the Treasurer's annual report is made direct to the Court of Accounts, a kind of central statistical office for the public finances of France.

An unsalaried Administrative Board appointed by the Council from among its own members assists the Mayor; the size of the Board varying with the population. Cities of ten thousand have two controllers, or adjoints, as they are called, one additional controller up to a maximum of twelve is allowed for each further twenty-five thousand of population. The City of Lyons is an exception, with seventeen. The number of civic departments is usually the same as the number of adjoints.

The Prefect, as representative of the national government, acts as general supervisor, and has wide discretionary powers. However, he rarely uses these directly, and in any event his actions are always subject to revision by interpellation in the Chamber of Deputies. At the same time he is an influential part of French municipal government. Over the police he has special supervision, the civic budget is submitted to him, to him the annual reports are made, and his approval must be had for franchises and bond issues. As the main roads in France are in charge of the National Government the franchises affecting them are matters for the direct approval of the Government, a provision which incidentally safeguards the country against conflicting local interests and privileges. All countries, including ourselves, evidently come to the same conclusion with regard to central supervision, though in each country a different road is followed.

Municipal Administration, England—Since the great Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, Municipal Administration in Merrie England has been brought to a fairly high state of efficiency by an orderly process of development. In this respect English municipal history goes to show that in order to transform a corrupt and inexpert administration

into an honest and efficient one, it is not necessary to clean the slate and begin all over again. The English reformers secured what they were after by recognizing more definite units of local authority, professional responsibility for heads of departments, and a gradual adaptation of supervision and control by the Central Government.

The strong arm of the English Council is its standing Committees, co-operating with the professional departmental heads, Committee and professional heads of departments are thus the operating end of English Municipalities. The Mayor is elected by the Council from among its own members, and is regarded rather as the social and philanthropic head than as Chief Administrator. However, it is quite open to an exceptional man to make an exceptional Mayor, as witness Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, when Chief Magistrate of Birmingham. An allowance is usually made to the Mayor for expenses. The Lord Mayor of London, for example, receives ten thousand guineas, in addition to the upkeep of the Mansion House, which means another eight to ten thousand pounds. But a Lord Mayor's charitable and social disbursements usually exceed any allowance made him by a substantial amount.

Over the English cities and between them and Parliament stand a number of local government boards which have gone far toward realizing non-political business efficiency in connection with municipal affairs. Mentioning the two most important ones last, they are :

1. The Board of Education.
2. The Board of Agriculture for epidemics among animals, local fisheries, etc.
3. The Home Office, which administers directly the London police and by reason of the percentage it pays to each municipality to secure local police efficiency is able to bring pressure to bear on the whole constabulary of the country.
4. The Board of Trade, which has more special supervision of public utilities; issues "provisional orders" (subject to confirmation by Parliament), and lays down conditions for the operation of municipal activities affected by these orders. The "Provisional Orders" greatly facilitate municipal action.
5. The Local Government Board, the most influential of all, with a wide range of work. Since 1871, when it was organized in its present form its powers have been extended, altered and re-arranged by over a hundred different statutes. It, too, saves Parliament's time by issuing "orders" subject to confirmation later by Act of Parliament; it super-

vises Poor Law authorities; prepares model by-laws, has extensive veto powers in case it finds that municipal legislation is ultra vires and in this way has been the means of preventing much litigation; approves municipal loans, may be freely consulted on technical or other matter by parliament as well as by the smallest municipality.

No limit is fixed to municipal debts, but all bond issues must have the approval of the Board, which is given subject to strict provision for sinking funds. It provides for the audit of all municipal accounts with the exception of those of London and of the boroughs. But from all municipalities without exception it requires full financial returns on prescribed forms, from which it publishes yearly a valuable municipal statistical review.

As regards the Referendum in England, or for the matter of that, in Europe, almost the only instance is in the case where a municipality in promoting a private bill before Parliament has to provide for the necessary expenses. But even here action is subject to the supervision of the Local Government Board.

These various expert local government boards have proved to be most helpful to municipalities and indispensable to Parliament. That even further centralization may take place is suggested by the policy of police administration. For example, since 1882 no borough with a population under twenty thousand may establish a separate police force; and since 1888 the policing of all boroughs under ten thousand has been placed in charge of the counties.

Municipal Administration, Prussia.—The Prussian Municipal machinery is also most interesting because of its professional administrators. The Mayor stands out as professional administrator and municipal head. The Council selects him in the same way as an English Council does a departmental head.

The practical career of a German Mayor begins in some Mayor's office. The young clerk is in training as a professional municipal administrator. On completing his apprenticeship he answers an advertisement and let us say, is appointed Mayor of some small town. If successful he goes on in the same way to some larger place. If he again makes good he may be invited to become Mayor of one of the great cities, and is possibly decorated by the Emperor and his name becomes widely known. The professional prospects of such a career are certainly stimulating.

Mayors are usually appointed for twelve year terms, and receive handsome pensions. Some cities (Berlin, for exam-

ple), have two mayors, a senior and an assistant. As associates with the Mayor the Council appoints a number of expert salaried Administrators, each of whom is assigned to a special department for which he has been specially selected. It is also customary for the Council to appoint to the Administrative Board certain honorary members, a practice it follows also with its own Committees. This admirable custom allows the German city to secure for itself the direct co-operation of citizens specially interested in given municipal activities.

In the larger cities usually about one-half of the administrators are salaried; in the smaller cities the majority are usually unpaid. The number of paid administrators is decided by the Council, but the law limits the number of honorary ones according to population. In general the number of paid administrators varies from about one-quarter to one-third the number of councillors. For instance, Berlin has besides its two Mayors a council of one hundred and forty-four, seventeen paid and seventeen unpaid administrators. The paid administrators are usually appointed for twelve year terms. The provision for pensions to municipal officials is most important, in securing the right class of municipal servants. After twelve years' service an administrator may retire on a pension of half his salary; after twenty-four years with a pension equal to his full salary; while in case of his prior decease provision is made for his widow. Through the good offices of Royalty and by virtue of healthy conditions of public opinion, a measure of distinction attaches to public service in Germany, which is quite unknown in the New World and counts for much.

Patronage is reduced to a minimum. Paid employees are appointed by the administrative board, which first lays their names before the Council for its opinion; unpaid ones by the Council. Only a few officials, for example, heads of the police and educational departments, require central confirmation, which is rarely withheld. There are no civil service requirements, but for high offices certain professional qualifications are exacted. Sometimes qualifying examinations are required, but they are not competitive. The Mayor, as Chairman of the Administrative Board is only *primus inter pares*; yet if any measure is regarded by him as contrary to public interest he may, subject to appeal, declare it out of order.

In actual practice the Committees of Council always presided over by a member of the Administrative Board, do a fair share of the work. A committee is usually made up of

one or two paid administrators, one or more departmental officials (who speak but may not vote), and one or more unpaid citizen deputies selected by the Council for six year terms with full voting rights. Only appointees to the educational committee require government confirmation.

As in France and England, there is a considerable measure of central supervision. For administrative purposes Prussia is divided into twelve provinces, which are made up of districts, and these of circles. The district authorities are concerned more with the larger cities; the circle more with the smaller places. Between central supervision in Prussia and England there is this characteristic difference; in England a city may make its final appeal to the people's representatives in Parliament; in Prussia the last word lies with the administrative tribunals.

Altogether the Prussian system is calculated to enlist the services of enthusiastic amateurs, reflect public opinion, and generally meet the demand for expert direction. It is to municipalities so organized that, subject to other state laws and activities, powers of local self government are given in the form of a general grant. As in France and England wide powers can be conferred with confidence, relying on the co-operation of the supervising boards of officials. In addition there is full provision for audit and for publication by the state of a complete summary of municipal finance, which keeps public opinion well informed. No one but agrees that the Prussian municipal organization has yielded efficient, clean and popular Government.

Their special importance, the existence there of official headquarters, and much other national property have led most European Governments to give somewhat special constitutions to their respective Capitals. Berlin, for example, stands directly under the Administrative supervision of the Prussian Government. In Paris there is a species of expert Administrative Board appointed directly by the Central Government and co-operating with the Municipal Council. Moreover, each of the twenty wards into which the city is divided is under an Administrative Board of a Mayor and three adjoints appointed by the Government. The large Municipal Council confines itself to general measures of policy.

As for London, since 1888 it has been under the London County Council, with 118 members elected every three years, and 19 aldermen elected by the Council itself, but Parliament looks with some suspicion on the well-known radical proclivities of the London County Council, and as a result

gas and electric lighting, water supply, poor relief and police are under the care of special authorities.

Bad practices may masquerade under an ideal form; and ideal practices and results may be discovered under old-fashioned names. In one form or another European municipalities appear to get pretty much what is sought for in America by the Commission system, and in addition they have the advantage of control by a representative Council. As for initiative and recall, these measures would probably prove overly cumbersome for metropolitan cities. In any event to European countries a proposition for Commission Government would be unintelligible. Why it finds more favorable reception on this side of the water can only be explained by the shortcomings, immaturity and unfortunate plight of Local Government here. In other words, to understand the run of the tide of Municipal Reform in the direction of Commission Government one must go back a little and take a glance over the history of Local Government in America.

According to the canons of Jacksonian democracy, the people and the people only, must be supreme. They believe that :

“ You can fool some people all the time,
You can fool all the people some of the time,
But you can't fool all the people all the time.”

So there was to be popular election not only of Councilors, but of all important officials. The bare possibility of an official class, of an official aristocracy, was to be obliterated. As the cities expanded and the number of municipal officers multiplied, the electoral ballots took on huge proportions. The ordinary man could no longer know for whom he was voting. In the end the candidates became grouped politically and the citizen could then vote a straight ticket by a simple cross at the head of a column. The ward-boss became a man of might. Election to office meant patronage, and an appointee's “ pile ” had to be made within a short time. Graft, inefficiency and deficits were the inevitable outcome, and City Government became in Mr. Bryce's words, often quoted “ the one conspicuous failure of the United States.”

The story of the birth of Commission Government has been frequently told.

Thirteen years ago the small city of Galveston, Texas, through years of deficits, had accumulated a heavy debt. Then came the tidal wave of 1900, devastating the city. As

a council of despair the Governor of the State united with a committee of citizens and placed the city in the hands of five liquidators, three appointed by himself, two elected by the people. Later on it was found that according to the State Constitution all five Commissioners, as they were called, must be elected. The success of the Commissioners, who with the exception of the Mayor, have ever since been continued in office, was in marked contrast to the past, and aroused the attention of neighboring cities. To these it seemed an open sesame from the sloughs in which they found themselves. The obstacles to the change were not so serious as might at first be expected, in that in Texas and other Southern States no matter what system was tried out no change in political control could result, in that the South was undeniably Democratic.

During the first six years, that is until 1907, less than ten small cities followed the example set; but since that time over 140 or more villages, towns and cities in thirty-four of the forty-eight States have abandoned their old form of Government in favor of the Commission plan. Twenty-five per cent. of these municipalities are to be found in Texas and Kansas; another twenty-five per cent. in Oklahoma, Illinois and California. Most of the places are small, only a dozen have fifty to one hundred thousand; only five over one hundred thousand (Birmingham, Ala., with 132,000; Memphis, Oakland and Spokane with somewhat less, and New Orleans, the latest and biggest recruit with somewhat over 300,000). Grouping the populations together a million and a half people in the United States live under this simple, ready-made Municipal system, and by so doing have registered their protest against "the right divine of democracy to govern wrong."

What is City Government by Commission? It is government by a small council of from three to five members, including the Mayor, usually elected for from two to four years. The Mayor has no special veto powers. Each councillor acts also as administrator and has charge of a special department of work, for which he is directly responsible, is paid a salary and usually devotes his whole time to the work. Wards are abolished.

In choosing the Council there is a double election, made up of a primary and a final. In the final ballot are re-submitted only the names of the two highest for Mayor and the eight highest for Councillor, four of whom are to be elected. Names of candidates on the ballot papers are arranged in alphabetical order, and all party designations are dis-

allowed. The Civil Service Board supervises appointments by the Council, and consists of three members, appointed for six years, but removable by a four-fifths vote of the Council. Popular control is further secured by annual audits, periodical itemized reports, and these again by the initiative, referendum and recall.

Under these last oft mentioned measures twenty-five per cent. of the number of electors at the last preceding election can have any proposition considered by the Council or voted on by the people. This is the initiative. The referendum means that under like conditions any ordinance of the Council unless withdrawn must be submitted to popular vote. Similarly, under the recall any Councillor must resign or stand for re-election within forty days. All resolutions of the Council, moreover, must be posted a week before being adopted and cannot go into force for ten days after being passed. Municipal appointments as in Canada, are permanent, subject frequently to some civil service requirements.

This outline is the developed or Des Moines plan which was formulated in 1907, though there is still considerable variation from place to place. For example, in Galveston the Commissioners give only part of their time. In Houston and other Texan towns they are paid more and devote their entire time. Here too, the Mayor's powers are so enlarged that he becomes a kind of General Manager appointing all heads of departments except the comptroller (whom the Council selects.) In Galveston, franchises are granted by the Commissioners; in Houston, they are decided by popular vote, etc.

This Commission system is of course only one of many forms of municipal organization which have been or are being tried out in the great Republic to the South. The earliest municipal system there was of course transplanted from England. But it has long since given way to the so-called Federal Plan, modeled after the Federal Constitution in which the legislative, executive and judicial branches are separate. This Federal Plan yielded in turn to the Board system under which certain municipal undertakings were transferred to special Boards more or less independent of the local Council; such as Boards of Police, Health, Fire, Water, etc. Later on this was in part changed in favor of the Mayoral system under which the Mayor becomes the dominating influence. Finally sprang up the Small Council or Commission system.

This progression does not exhaust the list. There is, for example, the limited town-meeting or Newport plan, an

attempt to adapt the New England town-meeting to city conditions. According to it a body of about two hundred (thought large enough to prevent cabals, small enough to allow of general discussion), is elected for three years, one-third retiring each year. The Chairman of this body appoints a committee of twenty-five to prepare the budget. On petition, referendums are provided for. General administration is then left in the hands of a small council, consisting of a Mayor and one alderman from each of the five wards.

Then there is the Lockport plan, laying emphasis on the importance of a general manager. Here five aldermen are elected at large for five years, subject to recall, with provision for initiative and referendum. The Board selects a city manager who, in turn, subject to certain civil service rules, appoints all employees except those in the Department of Education.

Among other forms of city government under experiment Boston's may be mentioned. In 1910, when its charter was under revision, the commission plan was considered and unanimously rejected by the Committee having the matter in hand. The decision was for a council of nine elected at large for three years, one-third retiring each year. The Mayor is elected for four years, subject to recall at the end of two years. Five thousand signatures are necessary for any candidate. The Mayor has absolute power to appoint heads of departments, subject to the approval of a Civil Service Board; while a State Board of Inspection looks after municipal reports and publicity. Even such a constitution scarcely bears the ear-mark of completeness or finality.

In Canada municipal government has sailed on an even keel. Outside of Quebec, municipal organization follows more closely the English model, but as in the United States reform lags behind the motherland. However, Canadians have never adopted the practice of electing their municipal officials, and still believe that in this and other respects they are not, and never have been, quite so bad as "those Republicans." But the time for this self-complacency has gone by.

In several of the larger cities, attempts at improved Administration have been made by means of small Boards of Control, elected by the city at large and salaried; but the results have not been up to anticipations. Taking advantage of the experience of the East in this respect on the advice of the late Mr. Biggar, for many years City Solicitor of Toronto, several cities in the west have adopted the plan of an elective Council, which in turn appoints the Adminis-

trators, or Commissioners, as they are called. Decision on the more important issues are reserved for popular vote. Elsewhere in a few instances the Des Moines plan has been boldly adopted.

So far the Canadian experiment of division of work between the Council as a legislating body and a special Administrative Board may be said to be still incomplete. For example, apart from Montreal, no definite decision has been come to as yet with regard to the part that Committees of Council should play. Moreover, with such a haphazard board as is usually elected, there is an inevitable lack of division of work, and also a lack of confidence between it and Council, which is increased by the frequent inability of controllers to answer questions in council as to their own recommendations. Indeed, looking the problem straight in the face, experience has already made it clear that capable Administrators, that is, men not necessarily possessed of technical knowledge, but with those peculiar gifts for supervision and management of technical heads which means so much for business success, cannot be secured by popular election no matter what the salary attached to the office. If the logic of facts and the judgment of the late city solicitor of Toronto were followed, an effort would be made to convert popularly elected Boards of Control into Boards of Administrative experts, appointed by, and holding seats in the Council. Just how such a Board could be organized to co-operate with sub-committees of the Council would then be matter for detailed consideration. Such a plan, apart from the Mayor, would be practically a counterpart of the admirable and efficient German system.

For the present it would help matters greatly if to every Board of Control was attached a strong executive officer or secretary, who, from his strategic position, would be a kind of municipal manager, guiding, assisting and strengthening in many ways and giving cohesion to what is now fragmentary and amateurish. He could be a sort of permanent Mayor, a Deputy-Mayor, if you will.

On the division of authority between the Province or State and the Municipality, the Commission plan throws no light. Yet in order to avoid political or unsympathetic interference there is need for a more general grant of Municipal powers. As has proved to be the outcome in England and in Europe generally, sufficient control can be exercised through some such body as the English Local Government Board. Already we have the hesitating beginnings of such in Ontario, in the Provincial Railway and Municipal Board. But

that Board has hardly yet fitted itself in as a normal feature of Ontario municipal organization. Such a Board should be the means of bringing about unity of statistical tabulation and audit, as well as offering the means for expert advice on matters of policy to every Municipality seeking it. It ought to be the keystone of our Municipal development.

The chief virtue of the Commission System in the United States is that it has swept away many of the impediments to municipal reform and points an ideal. That some wise men from the United States' West should now preach Commission Government as a cure-all can therefore be regarded as a pardonable weakness. The greater definiteness of responsibility and a number of other good features are certainly welcome reforms. But already municipal students in the United States are coming to see that after the first wave of enthusiastic reform flowing from an aroused and active public opinion Commission Government settles down to Government by pretty much the same caliber of men as formerly.

Indeed, speaking generally as regards the type of citizen whom we may expect to enter our municipal councils, it would seem as if we must make up our minds that, generally speaking, they will be men of the younger set, or men who have still to win their spurs. In other words, municipally we must get along as a rule without the direct help of "leading citizens." But these latter must recognize that the next quarter century of constructive city government in Canada offers a magnificent field for public service.

A good many people rely on the referendum, initiative and recall to safeguard municipal interests. Such votes are useful in a crisis, but in practice the two first at least mean little more than reference to the popular vote at the regular annual elections. At other times people will not turn out to vote. Moreover to secure a petition signed by a substantial fraction of the electors would be a practical impossibility in a large city. But the power of recall seems a wise provision to have as a reserve remedy for any city in case an undesirable alderman once gets elected. As regards the Municipal Council itself, it is beyond question a valuable feature and a helpful influence in our great school of Democracy. To let it disappear would mean a loss that probably could not be replaced by any other democratic institution. And not only to abolish the traditional Council, but to place both legislative and administrative work in the hands of a small elective Board of three, four or five men of the standing of our average Municipal Councillor would be a reactionary, fatuous policy, which before long must bring serious financial

and other results. Another conclusion might, of course, be come to if some new way is discovered of making sure of "plus" men being secured as Commissioners. But that is the whole question. If we had our ideal men as councillors there would be no problem at all !

In actual practice so-called Commission Government is then not Government by experts, but Government by much the same class of men whom we now elect. A review of experience and results to date in Commission cities in the United States and in Canadian cities under elected Boards of Control suggests that we should retain our municipal councils as at present, except that we should elect them for longer terms of office, say, as in England, three years, one-third retiring each year. The question as to the length of tenure of the Mayor as the honorific head of the city is in a sense not so important, though a two year term would seem advisable and conformable to the views of the electorate as expressed at the polls for many years back by their re-electing any fairly satisfactory Mayor. But the point is, by abolishing annual elections to do away with an annoying, discouraging, harmful and unnecessary interruption to the routine of work by our civic representatives.

The Councillors should be entrusted with the work of appointing well-salaried, administrative experts for a still longer period, these holding seats in the Council and co-operating with and presiding over the chief committees of council. That at least would constitute true government by commission, which simply means democratic business government. And if we add to that a little more attention to classification in municipal book-keeping, and, for popular instruction, the publication of clear, comparative reports on the various municipal services, we will have fortified reform.

But if public opinion holds to elective Boards of Control, controllers should still follow the Commission principle and with a fair salary allocate among themselves accountability for the several civic departments, and by acting as chairmen of standing committees, help carry the sympathy and co-operation of Council to a greater extent than I believe is usually done to-day. Organization, responsibility, publicity—these are serviceable tests of any form of government.

On the whole a discussion of the Commission System has the great merit of helping to shake us out of our self-complacency and apathy. In this constructive period of Canadian City Government the more vigorous the shaking the better, if we are to free ourselves from a number of old habits and see business principles govern.

The Panama Canal and Its Treaty Obligations.

WALLACE NESBITT, K.C., TORONTO.

(December 6, 1912.)

I PROPOSE dealing, shortly, first with the history of the canal, second, with a description of the completed project and its expected results upon the commerce of the world, and then to discuss what I conceive to be the proper interpretation of the present treaty.

It will be impossible to compress into the limits of a speech all the arguments pro and con on the construction of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. No one can read with care the debates in the Senate upon the Panama Canal Bill, or the message of President Taft recommending the Bill, without realizing that, if the treaty and the Bill stood alone and apart from their previous history and the surrounding circumstances, the question is debatable. But I fear that the question has not been discussed with that dispassionate accuracy which it deserves, but that opinions and decisions have been determined by unexamined prejudice, or by the probability of national advantage. I also fear that the attitude of many in the United States, both politicians and others, was succinctly stated by those Senators who said in effect that, if there was any doubt, it ought to be resolved in favor of their own country, and that if they had to choose between a patriotic and an unpatriotic interpretation, they were going to take the patriotic interpretation. On the other hand, it is easily understood that, without a full knowledge of the facts and of all that led up to the making of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, the ordinary person in the United States cannot realize how it can be that the United States, having spent some four hundred millions to construct the canal, should not have a right to deal with it as it pleases, and to make the other nations whose ships use the canal pay tolls, while its own ships go free. I believe that, when the question is fully understood, American public opinion as a whole will agree with the attitude taken by so many of the leading journals and public men, and

best voiced by Senators Root, Burton and McCumber, and will dissent from the views most ably represented by Senators Lodge and O'Gorman. The sober second thought of the nation which made such splendid sacrifices for the sake of Cuban independence, which has kept its pledged word so faithfully in Cuba, and which took the attitude it did in reference to the Boxer indemnity, may well be trusted to do what is right! It was absolutely necessary for President Taft to obtain immediate legislative action to provide for the administration of the canal, and the controversial provisions added to that necessary legislation were tacked on by the House and the Senate just previous to a Presidential election; and we all know enough about politics to understand the expectation that an apparently patriotic attitude would be immensely popular, no matter how little it harmonized with previous utterances.

Where I think history will censure President Taft is in this. The British Government filed a protest against the legislation, alleging that it was clearly in contravention of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. That this protest was not without foundation is best evidenced by the fact that many of the ablest lawyers and leading journalists of the United States took the same view as that which it presented. And yet, notwithstanding that the United States has been the leader in the peace movement; has been the practical proponent of the theory of arbitration; that it is largely responsible for the creation of the Hague Tribunal; that the passage of the Bill would create a most difficult situation both practically and diplomatically; notwithstanding this protest from a friendly power, with which the United States had solemnly agreed to refer just such matters to arbitration, President Taft recommended the passage of the Bill, instead of advising that it should be referred to the Hague Tribunal to decide whether the Bill, if passed, would be a breach of the provisions of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, and that the opinion of jurists of world-wide reputation should be taken upon the matter!

I think his action in this was indefensible. As between two gentlemen under similar circumstances, would any one justify the conduct of one who should persist in committing what the other maintained to be a clear breach of an understanding interpreted? And should not these rules of ordinary decent conduct be observed, if anything, more carefully between two friendly nations? And how much more so, between two nations who have bound themselves by treaty to observe them! It seems to me that President

Taft put his conscience in his pocket in order to attract the Western vote, and it is some satisfaction to outsiders, at any rate, to know that his departure from principle did not save him from the greatest defeat any President of the United States has ever suffered! He had acquired a great reputation as a judge and as a member of the executive, but certainly his conduct when dealing with international questions has not added to that reputation.

I think that what Canadians, who are more vitally interested than anybody else in this question, must do is to see to it that the American public shall be thoroughly informed of the facts, and I have every hope that, once informed, their sense of fair play, their desire to show a scrupulous regard for the observations of treaty relations, will cause them to repudiate the selfish and narrow policy at present crystallized in the Panama Canal Act, or, at the least, refer the matter for arbitrament to the Hague Tribunal. I cannot believe that the opinion that has been expressed—that they would not get fair play before that Tribunal—will be seriously entertained. Such a view gives little credit to the jurists composing that body. I should expect every member of that Tribunal to decide impartially according to his conscience, and to do what he thought the equity of the case before him demanded. It is to be noted that, in the last reference between ourselves and the United States, the extreme United States view was adopted by one of the foreign representatives, whereas the United States representative concurred with ours in his view. I think that one of the greatest tributes that could be paid to him is to say that he would not yield to the temptation of agreeing with a view in favor of his own country which another member of the Tribunal propounded, but dissented from that and concurred with the view of the Canadian representative.

I now enter upon the history of the matter. I do this because I do not think the present question can be fairly understood, unless one appreciates certain salient points of that history, namely, that from the earliest days, the importance of interoceanic communication was recognized by all nations; that, in the beginning of its history, the United States, while recognizing the special importance to itself, was not in a financial position to undertake the task alone; that, while that was the situation it was the leader in the thought that no matter by whom the canal was built, whether by private capital or by a nation or nations, it must be opened to all peoples upon the same terms; that, when

Great Britain and the United States became jointly interested in the neutralization, this view still obtained and was in fact emphasized; and that, in the negotiations which led up to the United States obtaining complete control, the view that it should be a trust for mankind was put in the very forefront, and concessions were obtained from Great Britain based upon that as the settled policy. It is in the light of all these circumstances that the present treaty itself must be read.

The opening of the Panama Canal in 1915 seems to be the answer of commerce to the capture in 1453 of Constantinople by the Turks and the closing of the Mediterranean. The highway of commercial activity was perforce changed to the Atlantic. The discovery of the new world by Columbus was the result of his endeavor to find a western passage from Europe to Cathay. As Mr. Lowell said, Columbus started out to find the entrance to the back door of the old world and found the front door to the new! It was reserved, however, for Balboa in 1513 to locate "the waist of the world," when he sighted from a peak of the Culebra Mountains the Pacific. This point of observation is practically in the direct line of the present Panama Canal. In the endeavor to find a western passage, Magellan in 1519-1521 discovered the sea route from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the Straits of Magellan, but it was not until 1530 that the shipping world recognized that this was the only sea route, and the result was fraught with great political consequences. The long journey to the western coast of Central and North America caused the rival powers for the supremacy of the Atlantic to take little interest in and to make scarcely any attempt to settle this coast. England's claim to California was certainly as good as that of the United States, but owing to the distance and the inaccessibility she was indifferent enough to accept without much demur the loss of California, Washington Territory and Oregon, and accept the 49th parallel as the southern boundary of her dominions.

The attention of the world, however, was, in 1150, drawn by the Portuguese navigator, Antonio Galvao, in a publication, to the importance of interoceanic communication, and he pointed out there were four practicable routes—Tehuantepec, Nicaragua, Panama, and Darien. In 1551, the Spanish historian, El de Gomara, submitted a memorial to Philip II. of Spain urging the immediate construction of some one of these waterways. This did not meet with any response,

as Spain was at that time fully occupied with the exploitation of the riches of Mexico, Peru, etc., and interest in the matter died out for about 140 years, when, in 1695, William Paterson launched his Darien scheme. Paterson was a poor Scotch farm lad who had drifted to London and had become, in 1694, the founder of the Bank of England. He fell into more or less disgrace, however, and from Edinburgh, in 1695, launched his scheme for a company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, which was to have its headquarters at Darien. Even at that early date he laid down as an essential doctrine that the interoceanic communication which he intended to establish there under Scotch auspices should have for its cardinal principle absolute equality of treatment so far as the ships of all nations were concerned. When the expedition sailed on the 26th July, 1698, with Paterson merely as an adviser instead of having supreme control, the scheme apparently was doomed to disaster. If Paterson had had supreme control, the history of the world would probably have been changed, because there is no reason to suppose, looking at his views as expressed at the time and as subsequently pressed upon William III., that England would not have through this settlement acquired a commanding influence in Central and South America. After the failure of the Paterson scheme another period of practically one hundred years elapsed before the matter was taken up seriously. This time it was Spain which, in 1778, ordered surveys to be made of the Tehuantepec route, and, in 1779, of the Nicaraguan route. But political conditions in Europe put an end to the aspirations of Spain. In 1808 the great Humboldt visited Cuba, Columbia and Panama, and in his work, published at that time, put forward a practical scheme for cutting through the Isthmus of Panama, and also mentioned other points, where, by utilizing some of the rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, the end, perhaps, could be more advantageously attained than at Panama. The German poet Goethe, whose inspired breadth of view and prophetic insight corresponds with that of our English Shakespeare, became greatly interested in Humboldt's views and said, speaking of the project:

“All this is reserved for the future, and for a great spirit of enterprise; but so much is certain: if a project of the kind succeeded in making it possible for ships of whatever lading or size to go through such a canal from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, quite incalculable results would ensue for the whole of civilized and uncivilized

humanity. I should be surprised, however, if the United States were to let the opportunity escape them of getting such an achievement into their own hands. We may expect this youthful power, with its decided tendency westwards, in thirty or forty years to have also occupied and peopled the extensive tracts of lands beyond the Rocky Mountains. We may further expect that along the whole Pacific coast, where nature has already formed the largest and safest harbors, commercial cities of the utmost importance will gradually arise, to be the medium of trade between China, together with the East Indies and the United States. . . . It is absolutely indispensable for the United States to effect a way through from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, and I am certain they will compass it. This I should like to live to see, but I shall not."

This view was expressed in 1827. In 1830 a Dutch company obtained a concession for a canal through Nicaragua. In 1826 Henry Clay issued instructions to Messrs. Anderson and Sargeant in reference to a canal at Panama. In 1864 the United States made a treaty with New Granada to secure a right of transit over the Isthmus by any modes "of communication which now exist or may hereafter be constructed," and guaranteed the sovereignty of Granada over the Isthmus. I shall refer to this later in discussing the treaties. The United States was now beginning to busy itself thoroughly in the subject. In 1849-50, the President directed a survey by American engineers for railways both at Panama and Nicaragua, and from this time forward the attention of the United States was largely concentrated upon this region, mainly in consequence of the discovery of gold in California, and the interest in the west which that created. In 1850 the United States negotiated with England the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, to which I shall refer again. In 1853-4, Dr. Cullen formed a company with a proposed capital of fifteen million pounds sterling to dig a canal across the Isthmus of Darien, and the project interested both Queen Victoria and Napoleon III. to such an extent that a British and a French man-of-war were sent on a mission of investigation to the Isthmus. The natives, however, showed such hostility that the project fell through. I daresay the war in the Crimea had much to do with the failure of interest in the scheme.

From 1870-75 the United States, through its army engineers, was engaged in making surveys which narrowed the choice of route down to those by Panama and

Nicaragua, and in 1876 a commission appointed by the United States reported in favor of Nicaragua. In the meantime, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 has caused a loss of interest in the matter in England. In 1881 de Lesseps formed his company for a tide water canal. This company bought out an existing railway and paid for it twenty-five and a half millions of dollars, but its history is one of unparalleled inefficiency and corruption. It succeeded in spending three hundred and fifty million dollars, about three times the total cost of the Suez Canal, and out of the fever-soaked soil it took some thirty million cubic yards. The United States has up to date taken out some one hundred and seventy-five millions of yards. In 1889 the company went into liquidation, and the new Panama Canal Company was formed, which did little more, however, than keep alive its corporate existence. In that year a commission was appointed by President McKinley to determine on the best route for the canal under the control, management and ownership of the United States, and in 1891 this commission reported in favor of Nicaragua, but estimated the French company's rights in the Panama at forty millions. This company had been holding out for a very large sum, and when it offered to sell at forty millions the commission issued a supplementary report in favor of the Panama route. Matters dragged along until the spectacular voyage of thirteen thousand miles of the battleship Oregon round the Horn to Key West focussed the attention of the whole of the United States upon the situation. It was, as I shall point out later, now the doctrine of the United States that the canal when built would be a mere continuation of the coast line of the United States, and, therefore, that it must be one over which the United States should have supreme control. Accordingly, it was necessary to approach Great Britain to get rid of the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and, in 1900, this was attempted by what is known as the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which, however, was amended by the Senate so that the British Foreign Office refused to agree to it. But in 1901 the second Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which might better be called the Choate-Lansdowne treaty, was negotiated and agreed to between Great Britain and the United States. This left the way open for a negotiation with Colombia for territorial rights, and in 1903 a treaty was arranged with Colombia, which, however, the Colombia Senate refused to ratify. Three days after its refusal a revolution took place, and the new Province of Panama was recognized by the United States. The United States agreed

with the new Province for the use, occupation and control, for the purposes of a canal, of a ten-mile strip of territory on payment of ten million dollars down and two hundred and fifty thousand dollars yearly to begin in nine years. I shall not weary you with a technical description of the great work. Mr. Bryce says of it:

“Thus the voyager of the future, in the ten or twelve hours of his passage from ocean to ocean, will have much variety. The level light of the fiery tropic dawn will fall on the houses of Colon as he approaches it in the morning, when vessels usually arrive. When his ship has mounted the majestic staircase of the three Gatun locks from the Atlantic level, he will glide slowly and softly along the waters of a broad lake which gradually narrows toward its head, a lake enclosed by rich forests of that velvety softness one sees in the tropics, with vistas of forest-girt islets stretching far off to right and left among the hills, a welcome change from the restless Caribbean Sea which he has left. Then the mountains will close in upon him, steep slopes of grass or brushwood rising two hundred feet above him as he passes through the great cut. From the level of the Miguel lock he will look southward down the broad vale that opens on the ocean flooded with the light of the declining sun, and see the rocky islets rising, between which in the twilight his course will lie out into the vast Pacific. At Suez the passage from sea to sea is through a dreary and monotonous waste of shifting sand and barren clay. Here one is for a few hours in the centre of a verdant continent, floating on smooth waters, shut off from sight of the ocean behind and the ocean before, a short, sweet present of tranquility between a stormy past and a stormy future.”

When the canal is finished there will be thirty thousand trained West Indian laborers in search of employment, which ought to be of interest to our railway contractors. Seventy-five per cent. of the labor employed upon the canal has been British West Indians.

Let me say a word about the meaning to commerce of the canal, when completed, and particularly about its meaning to Canada. I do not believe that the human mind is capable of realizing all that it is likely to mean in the future to the commercial world. With the mere figures showing the distances which will be saved, and the shifting of shipping bases which may follow, you are already familiar, and they convey, at best, but a feeble impression.

The canal itself, it must be remembered, is only a part

of the waterway scheme contemplated by the United States. An American writer thus sums up the situation:

"The perfecting of the Panama Canal and the Lake Michigan Canal, the canalization of the Illinois River, the perfecting of the channel of the Mississippi itself, and the deepening and otherwise perfecting of the channels of its larger tributaries, will furnish the backbone of the improving of the waterways scheme. So that so far as transportation is concerned steamers for Honolulu and Yokohama can load their freight at Duluth and Fort William, Toronto, Hamilton or Buffalo, and freight can be carried direct from the wharves of Minneapolis or Chicago, Pittsburg, Omaha, to Bombay, Liverpool, or Hong-Kong."

To Canadians, although engaged at the moment to the last ounce of their energy in developing the country itself, it seems to me that the canal is fraught with the greatest possibilities. I am assuming that the suggestion that has been made that wheat cannot be shipped from Vancouver to Liverpool via the Panama because of its necessary passage through a tropical climate, is not correct, but that the shipment of wheat is quite feasible. It means from Moosejaw west practically a saving of from 12c to 15c a bushel on wheat. We have only about one-tenth of the land capable of wheat raising now under cultivation. There are less than twenty million acres under cultivation, and there are said to be over 250 million acres suitable for it. Is it extreme to think that we may be in ten years exporting, instead of one hundred millions of bushels, four hundred millions? Suppose the advantage from the canal is 10c a bushel, and that there is an average of fifteen bushels to the acre. It means \$1.50 per acre per annum for every acre put under cultivation. It means such an impetus given to the Canadian wheatfields that the railways will be far more than recompensed for any loss they may sustain in the carriage of grain by the small package freight and by the increase of earnings from density of population.

Then, as regards Eastern Canada, there must necessarily be great coal depots established at the coaling stations in the vicinity of the entrance to the canal, and in this New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are greatly interested. The steel mills of both the east of Canada and the United States will enjoy an enormous advantage in shipment to the western coast of Canada as against those of England and Germany. The West Indies, however, it appears to me, will come into their own, more than any other peoples. If any

of you are speculators, buy West India real estate!. It seems to me that the ultimate result will be such a readjustment and development over the whole field of international industry as it is almost impossible to contemplate.

Having stated, shortly, the history of the building of the canal and its possibilities, I now come to the most important question, namely, what are the conditions under which the use of the canal is to be permitted? By the Act of Congress as it stands at present, the shipping of all nations is to be allowed through the canal on payment of the same tolls, except that the coastwise shipping of the United States is to be free from tolls. The British Government has filed a protest against this Act, asserting that it is an infringement both of the letter and the spirit of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. The objection to it is that it discriminates in favor of American shipping. Canada is more affected than any other country by the discrimination, as our ships plying, say, from Vancouver or Prince Rupert, have to compete with ships from Seattle, etc., and the toll of so much per ton would be very serious. Liverpool or Bremen shipping to San Francisco or Seattle would be affected as against New York or Boston shipping a similar cargo as its rivals to the west. One would suppose the United States consumer would see to it that his burdens were not so increased.

I now turn to the treaties themselves and what has occurred in connection with them. I have mentioned that, as early in 1808, Humboldt had examined the various waterways, and the commercial importance of the project had been pointed out. Accordingly, in 1824, the United States concluded a treaty of general friendship with Colombia, which, while containing no specific reference to the waterway, guarded the position of the United States so as to render unlikely the possibility of any other power undertaking the task of building a canal then beyond the resources of the United States. In 1846 a definite treaty was concluded with New Granada. The Republic of Colombia had been divided in 1831, and New Granada now included the future canal zone. By this treaty the United States secured that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama by any modes of communication that then existed or that might hereafter be constructed, should be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States. No other tolls or charges were to be imposed on the citizens and merchandise of the United States than were levied on New Granada, and in return the United States guaranteed to the other party the perfect neutrality of the Isthmus

and the sovereign rights of New Granada over that territory. Apparently in response to this Great Britain took possession, in 1848, of what is now Greytown, the only practicable Atlantic terminal for a canal along the Nicaraguan route, and the United States retaliated by arranging a treaty, which, however, was not ratified, with Nicaragua, whereby the United States obtained the exclusive right to construct a canal by this route. Great Britain promptly took possession of Tigra Island, one of the possible Pacific terminals of a Nicaraguan canal, and to compose these differences the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was negotiated in 1850.

Before I discuss that treaty, let us see what policy as to interoceanic communication had been settled upon and announced by the United States. In 1826 Henry Clay, as Secretary of State, issued instructions to Messrs. Anderson and Sargeant, in which he wrote:

“If a canal across the Isthmus be opened so as to admit of the passage of sea vessels from ocean to ocean, the benefits of it ought not to be exclusively appropriated to any one nation, but should be extended to all parts of the globe upon the payment of a just compensation or reasonable tolls.”

To quote Senator Burton:

“This was the first declaration by a Secretary of State, other official, or Congress in regard to the proposed Panama Canal. Since that time this first declaration has been confirmed by American statesmen of all political parties—Whig, Democratic, and Republican—with substantial unanimity. The principle has been enunciated by presidential messages, by instructions from Secretaries of State, and by resolutions of the House and Senate and of Congress. The message of President Roosevelt in submitting the treaty with Panama expressly states the policy.”

Let me justify the Senator's statement.

On the 3rd March, 1835, the Senate of the United States unanimously resolved:

“That the President of the United States be respectfully requested to consider the expediency of opening negotiations with the Governments of other nations, and particularly with the Governments of Central America and New Granada, for the purpose of effectually protecting, by suitable treaty stipulations with them, such individuals or companies as may undertake to open a communication be-

tween the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by the construction of a ship canal across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and of securing forever, by such stipulations, the free and equal right of navigating such canal to all such nations, on the payment of such reasonable tolls as may be established to compensate the capitalists who may engage in such undertaking and complete the work."

President Jackson, on the 9th January, 1837, in a message to the Senate, concurred in the view expressed in their resolution of 1835.

Two years later, in 1839, the House of Representatives, by a unanimous vote, adopted a resolution similar to that of the Senate, wherein they requested the President to ascertain "the practicability of effecting a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by the construction of a ship canal across the Isthmus, and of securing forever, by suitable treaty stipulations, the free and equal right of navigating such canal by all nations."

It is to be observed that the idea of the Senate of the United States was even at that early period that the free and equal right of navigating the canal forever should be the basis of any rights.

On the 10th February, 1847, President Polk, in asking the Senate for their advice with regard to the ratification of the Treaty with New Granada, and having particularly in view the clause of the Treaty which guaranteed the neutrality of the territory and sovereignty of New Granada over it, set out the resolution of 1835, and said that, while he was deeply sensible of the dangers of alliances, which this treaty with New Granada virtually was, this treaty was justifiable on the ground of the great commercial interests of the United States in the project. He proceeds:

"3. It will constitute no alliance for any political object, but for purely commercial purposes in which all the navigating nations of the world have a common interest.

"4. The ultimate object as presented by the Senate of the United States in their Resolution to which I have already referred, is to secure to all nations the free and equal right of passage over the Isthmus."

President Taylor, on December 4th, 1849, in his first annual message to the Senate and House of Representatives, said:

"Should such a work be constructed under the common protection of all nations for equal benefits to all, it would

be neither just nor expedient that any great maritime state should command the communication. The territory through which the canal may be opened ought to be freed from the claims of any foreign power. No such power should occupy a position that would enable it hereafter to exercise so controlling an influence over the commerce of the world or to obstruct the highway which ought to be dedicated to the common uses of mankind."

And on April 22nd, 1850, in another message to the Senate of the United States when transmitting the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, he uses this language:

"At the time negotiations were opened with Nicaragua for the construction of a canal through her territory, I found Great Britain in possession of nearly half of Central America, as the ally and protector of the Mosquito King. It has been my object in negotiating this treaty not only to secure the passage across the Isthmus to the Government and citizens of the United States by the construction of a great highway dedicated to the use of all nations on equal terms, but to maintain the independence and sovereignty of all the Central American Republics."

And he again reiterated the resolution of the Senate of the 3rd March, 1835, that the object of the canal was to secure forever the free and equal right of navigating such canal to all such nations on payment of such reasonable tolls as might be established, etc.

To again quote Senator Burton:

"It may be said that these expressions were used at a time when it was contemplated that the canal would be constructed by private capital, and that in view of the fact that the Government has undertaken this work a different status is created, but the very language of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901 and the later treaty with Panama negatives this contention. It was clearly the intent of both treaties to continue the policy which had been enunciated in former years."

Now, in the light of these declarations, look at the language of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The preamble is as follows:

"Her Britannic Majesty and the United States of America being desirous of consolidating the relations of amity which so happily subsist between them, by setting forth and fixing in a convention their views and intentions,

with reference to any means of communication by ship-canal which may be constructed between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by the way of the River St. Juan de Nicaragua, and either or both of the Lakes of Nicaragua or Managua, to any port or place on the Pacific Ocean."

Then the terms of the treaty as set out, and it contains these four essential points:

1. It bound both parties not to "obtain or maintain" any exclusive control of the proposed canal, or unequal advantage in its use.

2. It guaranteed the neutralization of the canal.

3. It declared that, the intention of the signatories being not only the accomplishment of a "particular object," i.e., that the canal, then supposedly near realization, should be neutral and open on equal terms to the two contracting powers and to all other nations, "but also to establish a general principle," they agreed "to extend their protection by treaty stipulation to any other practicable communication, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus."

4. It stipulated that neither signatory would ever "occupy or fortify or colonize, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America," nor make use of any protectorate or alliance, present or future, to such ends.

I will now demonstrate from the United States records that there was no change of policy after the treaty.

On the 5th April, 1860, President Buchanan, in a message to the Senate, transmits a treaty between the United States and the Republic of Honduras, and says:

"This treaty is in accordance with the policy inaugurated by the Government of the United States and in a special manner by the Senate in the year 1846, and several treaties have been concluded to carry it into effect."

He sets out that the object is to obtain a grant of free and uninterrupted transit for the Government and people of the United States over the transit routes across the isthmus, and a guarantee of their neutrality. He then sets out the various treaties, beginning with that of New Granada of the 12th December, 1846; and concludes:

"The Government of the United States can never permit these routes to be permanently interrupted, nor can it allow them to pass under the control of other rival nations. While it seeks no exclusive privileges upon them for itself, it can

never consent to be made tributary in their use to any European power."

Secretary Fish, during the administration of President Grant, expressed in a message the hope that there would be an early decision as to a canal route, based upon its "dedication to the commerce of all nations" without advantage to one over another of those who guaranteed its assured neutrality.

Secretary Blaine, communicating with Mr. Lowell, says:

"Nor does the United States seek any exclusive or narrow commercial advantage. It frankly agrees and will by public proclamation declare at the proper time in conjunction with the Republic on whose soil the canal may be located, that the same rights and privileges, the same tolls and obligations for the use of the canal shall apply with absolute impartiality to the merchant marine of every nation on the globe; and equally in time of peace the harmless use of the canal shall be freely granted to the war vessels of other nations."

And on the 8th March, 1880, President Hayes, in a message to the Senate says:

"The policy of this country is a canal under American control. The United States cannot consent to the surrender of this control to any European power or to any combination of European powers. . . . An interoceanic canal across the American isthmus will essentially change the geographical relations between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States and between the United States and the rest of the world. It would be the great ocean thoroughfare between our Atlantic and our Pacific shores and virtually a part of the coast line of the United States."

Observe the first appearance of the coast line idea.

President Cleveland, in a message to the Senate on December 8th, 1885, said:

"Whatever highway may be constructed across the barrier dividing the two greatest maritime areas of the world, must be for the world's benefit; a trust for mankind."

And again:

"The lapse of years has abundantly confirmed the wisdom and foresight of those earlier administrations which long before the conditions of maritime intercourse were changed and enlarged by the progress of the age, proclaimed the vital need of interoceanic transit across the American

isthmus and consecrated it in advance to the common use of mankind by their positive declarations and through the formal obligations of treaties. Toward such realization the efforts of my administration will be applied."

May we not hope that the great Democratic party under its new President, will make good these words of President Cleveland!

Again, in 1896, Secretary Olney says:

"That the interoceanic routes there specified should, under the sovereignty of the States traversed by them, be neutral and free to all nations alike."

And in speaking of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty he said:

"Upon every principle which governs the relations to each other, either of nations or of individuals, the United States is completely estopped from denying that the treaty is in full force and vigor."

Mr. Blain, therefore, endeavored to free his country from the obligations of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, but without success.

Senator Davis, in March of 1900, submitted as an executive document to the Senate, a report in which he used the following language:

"The leading powers of Europe recognized the importance of this subject in respect of the Suez Canal and ordained a public international act for its neutralization that is an honor to the civilization of the age.

"The European powers gave to this subject the greatest consideration and reached conclusions that are not open to criticism as being unjust to any nation in the world. Turkey and Egypt, the Imperial and the local Sovereigns of the canal, and Great Britain, had special interest in the rules for regulating the use of the canal, and they united in the convention which deprived them of exceptional privileges in its navigation for the sake of justice to all maritime nations and the peace and prosperity of the world. No nation disapproves of this great act. . . . No American will ever be found to complain of it. It is right in its moral features, in its impartiality. . . . The United States cannot take an attitude of opposition to the principles of the great Act of October 22nd, 1888, (Suez Canal Act) without discrediting the official declarations of our Government for fifty years on the neutrality of an isthmian canal and its equal use by all nations without discrimination. To set up the selfish motive of gain by establishing a monopoly

of a highway that must derive its income from the patronage of all maritime countries, would be unworthy of the United States if we owned the country through which the canal is to be built. . . . It is not reasonable to suppose that Nicaragua and Costa Rica would grant to the United States the exclusive control of a canal through those states on terms less generous to the other maritime nations than those prescribed by the great Act of October 22nd, 1888, or, if we could compel them to give us such advantages over other nations, it would not be creditable to our country to accept them."

As a fact, as I shall show you in a moment, the eventual treaty between the Republic of Panama and the United States did reiterate the principle of non-discrimination.

Senator Davis continues:

"That our Government or our people will furnish the money to build the canal presents the single question whether it is profitable to do so. If we are compelled by national necessities to build the canal we have no right to call on other nations to make up the loss to us."

Following upon this, Mr. McKinley, in his second message to Congress, said:

"That the construction of such a maritime highway is now more than ever indispensable to that intimate and ready intercommunication between our eastern and western seaboards demanded by the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the prospective expansion of our influence and commerce in the Pacific, and that our national policy now more imperatively than ever calls for its control by this Government, are propositions which I doubt not the Congress will duly appreciate and wisely act upon."

Accordingly negotiations were at once opened with Lord Pauncefoot, the British Ambassador, and the result of these negotiations was a treaty prepared in February, 1900, which, however, proved unacceptable to the Senate. But finally, in November, 1901, the convention known as the Hay-Pauncefoot treaty, was concluded. It is upon the construction of this treaty that the present controversy has arisen. It is short, and in view of its importance to this discussion, I shall trouble you for a moment with its exact terms.

"His Majesty Edward the Seventh, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, and Emperor of India, and the

United States of America, being desirous to facilitate the construction of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by whatever route may be considered expedient, and to that end to remove any objection which may arise out of the convention of the 19th April, 1850, commonly called the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, to the construction of such canal under the auspices of the Government of the United States, without impairing the 'general principle' of neutralization established in Article VIII. of that convention, have for that purpose appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

"Article 1. The High Contracting Parties agree that the present treaty shall supersede the afore-mentioned convention of 19th April, 1850.

"Article 2. It is agreed that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, either directly at its own cost, or by gift or loan of money to individuals or corporations, or through subscription to or purchase of stock or shares, and that, subject to the provisions of the present treaty, the said Government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal.

"Article 3. The United States adopts, as the basis of the neutralization of such ship-canal, the following rules, substantially as embodied in the convention of Constantinople, signed the 29th October, 1888, for the free navigation of the Suez Canal, that is to say:

"1. The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable.

"2. The canal shall never be blockaded, or shall any right of war be exercised nor any act of hostility be committed within it. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder.

"3. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not revictual nor take any stores in the canal except so far as may be strictly necessary, and the transit of such vessels through the canal shall be effected with the least possible delay in accordance with the regulations in force, and with only

such intermission as may result from the necessities of the service.

"Prizes shall be in all respects subject to the same rules as vessels of war of the belligerents.

"4. No belligerent shall embark or disembark troops, munitions of war, or warlike materials in the canal, except in case of accidental hindrance of the transit, and in such case the transit shall be resumed with all possible despatch.

"5. The provisions of this article shall apply to waters adjacent to the canal, within three marine miles of either end. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not remain in such waters longer than twenty-four hours at any one time except in case of distress, and in such case shall depart as soon as possible, but a vessel of war of one belligerent shall not depart within twenty-four hours from the departure of a vessel of war of the other belligerent.

"6. The plant, establishments, buildings, and all works necessary to the construction, maintenance, and operation of the canal shall be deemed to be part thereof, for the purposes of this treaty, and in time of war, as in time of peace, shall enjoy complete immunity from attack or injury by belligerents, and from acts calculated to impair their usefulness as part of the canal.

"Article 4. It is agreed that no change of territorial sovereignty or of the international relations of the country or countries traversed by the before-mentioned canal shall affect the general principle of neutralization or the obligation of the High Contracting Parties under the present treaty."

Secretary Hay, in a memorandum to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, in reference to the treaty, characterizes it as a contract between Great Britain and the United States, in which the former surrendered her rights of joint construction and control under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which he describes as a material interest, in consideration of the rules and principles embodied in the treaty.

President Roosevelt says:

"It specifically provides that the United States alone shall do the work of building and assume the responsibility of safeguarding the canal, and shall regulate its neutral use by all nations on terms of equality without the guarantee or interference of any outside nation from any quarter."

And again on January 4th, 1904, says:

"Under the Hay-Pauncefote treaty it was explicitly

provided that the United States should control, police and protect the canal which was to be built, keeping it open for the vessels of all nations on equal terms. The United States thus assumes the position of guarantor of the canal and of its peaceful use by all the world."

And Secretary Hay, on January 15th, 1904, says:

"The Clayton-Bulwer treaty was conceived to form an obstacle, and the British Government therefore agreed to abrogate it, the United States only promising in return to protect the canal and keep it open on equal terms to all nations in accordance with our traditional policy."

In 1903, as I have mentioned, the United States obtained the required territorial concessions from the Republic of Panama. The treaty by which they did so is also of importance in this discussion. But I shall not trouble you at this point by reading it, as I shall have occasion to later refer to the material parts of it.

Now, it is on this state of facts that the United States have passed the Panama Canal Act, providing that no tolls for the use of the canal shall be charged upon their own coastwise shipping—that is, upon American vessels trading from one American port to another. I want now to discuss how far they are justified under the treaties in passing this Act.

I propose to keep separate, as far as I can, the various arguments in support of the American position and the answers which I conceive can be made to them. I do this for the sake of clearness, but at the same time I think that much of the cumulative force of the case of Great Britain is lost by this method of treatment, since, in many instances, the answer to one argument are applicable also to others.

Several of the arguments advanced on behalf of the United States may, I think, fairly be described as untenable, for reason of which I shall try to give you, but many of them can by no means be so described, and undoubtedly require serious consideration.

The first argument which they suggest is that in Rule 1 of Article 3 of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which says, you will remember, that "the canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and war of all nations observing these rules upon terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise." The words "all nations" do not include the United States, and

that that nation is, therefore, at liberty to discriminate in favor of its own shipping, so long as the shipping of all other nations is admitted upon terms equal as between them.

I think that this is one of the arguments which may be classed as untenable. There are very many answers to it.

In the first place, if the words "all nations" do not include the United States, then I do not know what the English language means.

It is to be noted also that an amendment was proposed to the first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty expressly permitting the United States to discriminate in favor of their own shipping, but it was voted down in the Senate.

But, apart from this, it is expressly stated in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty that it is not intended "to impair the general principle of neutralization established by Article 8" of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and Article 8 of that treaty is therefore to that extent continued in force. That Article provides that the canal, "which shall be open to the subjects of Great Britain and the United States on equal terms, shall also be open on like terms to the subjects and citizens of every other State which is willing to grant there-to such protection as Great Britain and the United States engage to afford."

It is perfectly plain that, under this article, the United States was included, and was precluded from discriminating in favor of its own shipping.

Again, Article 2 of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, after agreeing that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States provides that, "subject to the provisions of the present treaty, the said Government shall have and enjoy the rights incident to such construction."

This, to my mind, makes it perfectly plain that the United States were to be in no higher position by reason of their being themselves the builders and owners of the canal than any other nation, but that any rights which they might have as such builders and owners should be subject to the provisions of the treaty which would, of course, include the provision against discrimination.

But it is said that Article 1 of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty covers the vessels of war of all nations as well as their vessels of commerce, and it is impossible that the United States should charge tolls to their own vessels of war, because that would simply be taking the money out of one pocket and putting it into another. Therefore, it is argued, it is clear that the words "all nations" do not include the

United States when applied to vessels of war, and, as the two classes of vessels are put on precisely the same basis, those words cannot apply either to their vessels of commerce.

But I deny the premise on which this argument is founded. I can see no impossibility or absurdity in charging tolls to American ships of war. On the contrary, I think that the United States is bound to charge such tolls. It is not taking the money from one pocket and putting it into another, because if the tolls are charged and paid, they become part of the revenue of the canal and serve to that extent to lighten the tolls which need be charged to other nations, whereas if the tolls are not paid at all the money never leaves the pocket of the United States, and other nations get no benefit from it.

But it is said again that if this treaty includes the United States, they will be bound in case of war to allow free passage through the canal to the warships of the nation with whom they were engaged, even though such passage were required for the purpose of bombarding New York or San Francisco. How, it is asked, can it be argued that the United States have bound themselves to anything so preposterous?

But those who advance this argument lose sight of the principle of international law that treaties are abrogated by the mere fact of war. "Inter arma silent leges"—in the midst of arms laws are silent; and this principle affords a complete answer to the argument with which I am dealing. That this is the true answer appears further from the language of Rule 6 of the treaty, which, when provided for the immunity of the canal and its works from attack, expressly states that such immunity shall exist in time of war as in time of peace. It is the maxim which I have mentioned that made these words necessary, and their omission from Clause 1 made it plain that the application of the maxim to that clause was not to be excluded, but that its provisions would be abrogated by a war in which the United States were engaged.

Moreover, it is a noticeable fact that the words, "in time of war as in time of peace, did actually appear in Clause 1 of the first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty which was not ratified. But they were omitted in the second treaty, which now governs, precisely because of the existence of the maxim which I have mentioned. This is given as the reason in a report of the Department of State of the Committee on Foreign Relations, entitled "History of Amendments Proposed to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty":

“Third. The next important change from the former treaty consists in the omission of the words ‘in time of war as in time of peace’ from clause 1 of Article 3.

“No longer insisting upon the language of the Davis amendment—which had in terms reserved to the United States express permission to disregard the rules of neutrality prescribed, when necessary to secure its own defence, which the Senate had apparently deemed necessary because of the provision in Rule 1 that the canal should be free and open ‘in time of war as in time of peace,’ to the vessels of all nations—it was considered that the omission of the words ‘in time of war as in time of peace’ would dispense with the necessity of the amendment referred to, and that war between the contracting parties, or between the United States and any other power, would have the ordinary effect of war upon treaties when not specially otherwise provided, and would remit both parties to their original and natural right of self-defence and give to the United States the clear right to close the canal against the other belligerent, and to protect it and defend itself by whatever means might be necessary.”

The next argument advanced appears to me to be equally devoid of foundation.

It is said that the United States are not bound by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty because they received no consideration for making it.

This argument is based upon the assertion that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty covered only a canal by the Nicaragua route, and contained nothing to prevent the United States from building the present canal by the Panama route. Therefore, it is contended, Great Britain in reality gave up nothing in agreeing that that treaty should be so far abrogated as to allow the United States to build this canal.

It is true that the preamble of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty speaks of a ship canal by the Nicaragua route, and the first seven articles continue to speak of the “said canal,” but, when you come to Article 8, you find this language:

“The Governments of Great Britain and the United States having not only desired in entering into this convention to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle, they hereby agree to extend their protection by treaty stipulation to any other practicable

communications, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and especially to the inter-oceanic communications, should the same prove to be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by the way of Tehautepec or Panama."

And then it provides that such canals or railways shall be open to all nations on equal terms.

So that in truth the Clayton-Bulwer treaty does specifically prevent the construction of this very canal by the United States.

Moreover, the preamble to the Hay-Pauncefote treaty says that the contracting parties are desirous to facilitate the construction of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by whatever route may be considered expedient.

Then it is said that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had been broken by Great Britain, and had been treated by both powers as abrogated, so that it was really non-existent, and therefore that Great Britain gave no consideration by agreeing to its modification.

I should have thought that this was a point which should have occurred to the United States at the time when they entered into the Hay Pauncefote treaty, and is hardly open to them now. But, in any case, both this and the previous argument are, it seems to me, completely foreclosed by the preamble of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, to which I have already referred, which states that its object is "to remove any objection which may arise out of the convention of the 19th April, 1850, commonly called the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, to the construction of the canal under the auspices of the Government of the United States."

That this was the situation, and that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was still binding and constituted a barrier to the construction of the Panama Canal by the United States, is expressly recognized by the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, when they adopted the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. This report was drawn by a great international lawyer, Senator C. W. Davis, of Minnesota. If there had been any substance in the arguments now advanced, surely they would have occurred either to him or to some member of the Committee. Yet his report says:

"In the convention of February 5th, 1900, Great Britain agrees that the restriction as to the exclusive control of the

canal imposed by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty shall continue to bind her, while the United States is relieved from it."

And again:

"This sweeping modification of Article 1 of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as to all its restriction of the right of the United States under its auspices to construct the canal and to have and enjoy all the rights, such as ownership, incident to its construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for its management and regulation, leaves no ground, substantial or conjectural, on which Great Britain could hereafter contend for any of the restrictions contained in that article (not previously excepted), as remaining in force against the United States. She consents to remain under the prohibition of that article and consents that the United States shall be relieved from them in her negotiations with Costa Rica or Nicaragua for such exclusive right in or relating to the canal as they may concede to the United States. . . . If this convention is ratified, Great Britain could not negotiate with Costa Rica or Nicaragua or any other American state for any right to build, own, control, manage, regulate or protect a canal to connect the oceans, while the United States is left free to enter upon and conclude such negotiations. . . . If we should abrogate the parts of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty which forbid the exclusive control of the canal by either Government, thereby removing that restriction from Great Britain, we would deliberately open the door to her natural desire to obtain the right of the exclusive control of the canal under the treaty with Nicaragua, concluded in 1860. Great Britain has a claim to the exclusive control of the canal that is very important to her in that the British possessions and the Dominion of Canada have coast and great seaports on both oceans. . . . No other nation except the United States could have so great an interest in the exclusive right to own and control an isthmian canal; but in this matter, come what may, we are compelled to assert the superiority of our right now for the first time conceded by Great Britain. It is wise and just, therefore, that the value of this concession to us should be established as a great consideration for anything we may yield if we indeed yield anything in acquiring the exclusive right to control the canal by a modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty."

But, indeed, the real answer to the argument that the United States gained nothing and that Great Britain gave up nothing by the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty

is to read that treaty. It is full of troublesome conditions and restrictions.

And, apart from all this, I know of no rule of international law which requires consideration to make a treaty binding. Even in the domain of private contracts that doctrine is, I believe, peculiar to the law of England, and, in the case of a treaty between nations, I can see no reason why either could claim to be released from the obligation of the treaty, even if it were shown, as I think the United States cannot show in this case, that it received no consideration for any rights which it may have abandoned.

The next argument, which also I think untenable, is put in this way. At the time of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, it was contemplated that the United States would be compelled, for the purpose of building the canal, to obtain some territorial concession, in the nature of an easement or right of way, from the Central American state owning the land upon which the canal was to be built. But, it is said, the situation in fact now is, that the ten-mile zone, through which the canal is constructed, is owned, lock, stock and barrel, by the United States, having been bought from the Republic of Panama for a large sum, and is as much the territory of the United States, as for instance, Alaska. That being so, it is said that the provisions of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty are no longer binding, since a state of affairs has arisen which that treaty never intended to cover, and it cannot have been the intention of the framers of that treaty to restrict the United States in dealing as she might please with her own territory.

The first answer to this argument is that it is based upon an incorrect premise. The United States does not own the canal zone. The language of the treaty by which she acquired her rights in that zone from the Republic of Panama is as follows:

“Article 2. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of the canal zone for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the canal.”

“Article 3. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power and authority within the zone mentioned and described in Article 2 of this agreement . . . which the United States will possess and exercise as if it were the sovereign of the territory within

which said lands and waters are located to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority."

It will be observed that this is not an out and out grant. If it were all the additional words which I have read to you, would be quite unnecessary. The United States is not granted the sovereignty of the territory, but only such rights as it would have if it were sovereign. The distinction was pointed out by President Taft himself when he was Secretary of War. He said of the treaty:

"It is peculiar in not conferring sovereignty directly upon the United States, but in giving to the United States the powers which it would have if it were sovereign."

Moreover, the grant is expressly made for the purposes of the construction of a canal. The annual payment of \$250,000 by the United States appears to me to emphasize this idea of an absolute ownership. However this may be, the argument appears to me to be completely answered by Article 18 of the treaty with the Republic of Panama, which is as follows:

"The canal when constructed and the entrances thereto shall be neutral in perpetuity and shall be open upon the terms provided for by section 1 of Article 3 of, and in conformity with, all the stipulations of the treaty entered into by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain on November 18th, 1901."

That is, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty? So that, whatever is the precise nature of the rights acquired by the United States from the Republic of Panama, they take them expressly under a trust to observe in respect thereto all the provisions of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, and that this is so has been expressly admitted in the Senate by Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, the chief supporter of the Panama Canal Act.

In the debate on the Act in the Senate, at p. 11093 of the Congressional Record, I find this:

"Mr. Lodge—It all goes back to the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. I was aware, of course, of the treaty with Panama. I do not think it adds anything to the force of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty.

"Mr. Root—I referred to it as showing that whatever the Hay-Pauncefote treaty binds us to we are still bound by. We cannot escape from the provisions of that treaty.

"Mr. Lodge—That is not to be disputed.

"Mr. Root—It has been disputed.

"Mr. Lodge—I certainly did not mean to dispute it. I was not aware that I had disputed it."

The point is further expressly covered by Article 4 of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty itself, which provides that "no change of territorial sovereignty or of the international relations of the country or countries traversed by the before-mentioned canal shall affect the general principle of neutralization or the obligation of the High Contracting Parties under the present treaty."

As to this last clause, I should perhaps mention that it is again argued that this does not include the United States, but refers simply to the perennial changes of government which take place in the Central American states.

Really this argument, and the argument that "all nations" do not include the United States remind one irresistibly of the conversation in "Alice Through the Looking-glass," between Alice and Humpty-Dumpty.

"When I use a word," said Humpty-Dumpty in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty-Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."

There is another argument which I think I need do no more than mention.

It is said that the life of a nation is more important even than its honor, and that no nation can be bound by a treaty which endangers its very existence; that the power to admit its own shipping to the canal free of tolls and to exclude the ships of war of other nations in time of war is vital to the very existence of the United States, and that, therefore, if the Hay-Pauncefote treaty interferes in any way with this right, the United States is not bound by it, but it is a mere nullity.

I think that I can leave that argument with you without comment.

Now, I come to the arguments which, to my mind, require more serious consideration than any with which I have yet dealt.

It is said that, where the tolls are imposed by the nation owning the canal, a remission of these tolls in the case of

that nation's own ships is simply equivalent to the payment of a subsidy to those ships to the extent to which they use the canal.

There is nothing in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty to prevent other nations from subsidizing their own ships to an amount based upon the tolls which they pay for the use of the canal, and this is, in effect, simply a repayment to them of the tolls which they had paid. But, in the case of the nations owning and operating the canal to charge the tolls, and then to repay them in the shape of a subsidy, would be simply taking money out of one pocket and putting it into another. For this reason, the United States is at liberty to remit the tolls altogether in the case of its own ships, and to admit them through the canal free of any tolls whatever.

But I answer that, in principle, at any rate, a remission of tolls is by no means the same thing as a subsidy of an amount equivalent to the tolls, whatever it may be in practice, a question with which I shall deal in a moment.

And, therefore, the Act, as drawn, providing, as it does, that no tolls shall be charged upon American coastwise shipping using the canal, is a plain violation of the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty.

But I go further, and I say that, in practice as well as in principle, there is a wide difference between a remission of tolls and a subsidy. It is not true that for the United States to charge tolls on its own ships, and then to repay them by way of subsidy, is simply taking money out of one pocket and putting it into another. This is a fallacy which lies at the very root of the argument from subsidy to remission. If the tolls are charged and paid, they become, as I have already pointed out, part of the revenue of the canal and applicable to its upkeep, and, therefore, lower to that extent the rates which it is necessary to charge in order to maintain the canal, and to pay the interest on the money borrowed for its construction. If, on the other hand, the tolls are remitted altogether, that money never goes into the revenue of the canal, and the rates which have to be charged upon other ships using it are proportionately higher. If the coastwise shipping of the United States were, owing to the canal, to become a great industry, the practical difference between the two situations would be very marked.

But, further, even though a subsidy equal to the amount of the tolls were equivalent, both in principle and in practice, to a complete remission of the tolls, there is, to my mind, a very noticeable difference for the purpose of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty between a general subsidy, of what-

ever amount, to the shipping of a country, and a particular subsidy to vessels using a particular route to the extent to which they use that route. It may well be that it is open to all nations, including the United States, to pass such general shipping subsidies as they may choose, and that they are not prevented from doing so by the fact that some of their ships use the canal. But it seems to me very doubtful whether it is open to any nation to grant to its ships using the Panama Canal a subsidy equivalent to the amount of the tolls paid by those ships for such use. There is much to be said for the argument that that would be a violation of the first rule in Article 3 of the treaty, that the canal shall be free and open to the vessels of all nations on terms of entire equality, and that the United States could exclude from the canal the ships of any nation granting such a subsidy, on the ground that the right of navigating the canal is confined to nations observing the rules prescribed by the treaty. But it follows from what I have said before that if other nations could not grant such a subsidy, neither could the United States. And, while it may seem that, theoretically, this would be a very purposeless position for the other nations interested to take up, there is a practical reason, which I shall mention later, why they might want to adopt it.

But where I do think the United States are right is in this, that, if this view be wrong, and if it be open to other nations to pay such a particular subsidy as I have mentioned, there is nothing in the treaty to prevent the United States from doing so, too. It is true that there were some Senators opposing the Act who did go so far as to argue that, while it was open to other nations to grant such a subsidy, it was not open to the United States, but I confess that I can see nothing in the treaty to justify any difference in treatment in this respect between the United States and other nations.

But, though this be so, it cannot be made an argument in favor of the Act which I am now discussing, since, as I have said, that Act does not purpose to grant a subsidy either general or particular, but simply provides that no tolls shall be charged at all, and I have already pointed out the practical difference between the two.

That there is such a difference has already been conceded indeed, strenuously contended, by the United States themselves.

When the Welland Canal was built by Canada, Great Britain promised that she would use her efforts to secure

that that canal should be open to American as well as to Canadian commerce on terms of equality. The Canadian Government passed an Act providing for a rebate to Canadian vessels of a part of the tolls paid by them for the use of the canals, but President Cleveland objected so strongly to this, as a violation of the promises of equality, that the Act was withdrawn by Order-in-Council. And that contention of the United States was put forward in respect of a mere promise by England to use her best efforts to secure certain terms, whereas we are here dealing with the definite words of a binding treaty. Moreover, Great Britain then spoke merely of securing "equality," while the words used in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty the "entire equality."

Perhaps it is not unfair to observe further on this point that there is this further practical difference between a subsidy and a remission of tolls—that no subsidy bill could possibly be passed through the Congress or Senate of the United States, while there has been no difficulty in passing the present Act, providing, as it does, for a remission of tolls.

Then the final argument in support of this Act is this—the coastwise shipping of the United States is confined, by the very terms of the Act which we are discussing, to American vessels, and no foreign ships are permitted to engage in it. That being so, there can be no competition between the coastwise shipping of the United States and the shipping of any other country. The thing forbidden by the treaty is discrimination, but, where there is no competition there can be no discrimination. Therefore, it is concluded, it is open to the United States to exempt its own coastwise shipping from the payment of tolls, so long as such exemption is confined to coastwise shipping.

An objection to this argument is what I have already pointed out as to any exemption, namely, that it diminishes the revenue of the canal, and, therefore, raises the rates which must be charged. For this purpose it obviously makes no difference whether the exempted shipping competes with the other ships using the canal or not.

But apart from that, I ask you to observe that all the other arguments used in support of the bill are quite wide enough to cover the foreign shipping of the United States as well as its coastwise shipping. Indeed, Senator Lodge stated over and over again that, in his opinion, there was absolutely no difference between the two.

In the report of the Senate Debate, at p. 9678, I find this:

"Mr. Chamberlain—Is the Senator addressing himself

not to the treatment of our vessels engaged in foreign commerce, or do his remarks apply, and are they intended to apply, to the coastwise trade?

"Mr. Lodge—I mean all American vessels. For the purposes of this treaty, it does not make any difference what trade they are engaged in.

Then at p. 9681:

"Mr. Hitchcock—I did not quite clearly understand the Senator. When he speaks of our vessels, does he refer only to vessels engaged in the coastwise trade?

"Mr. Lodge—I refer to all American vessels, no matter what they are engaged in. They are all alike.

"Mr. Hitchcock—Does he refer to vessels engaged in the international trade in competition with others?

"Mr. Lodge—All American bottoms. The American coastwise trade is well taken care of now.

"Mr. Hitchcock—Does the Senator think that the United States has any greater right to grant free passage to vessels in our coastwise trade than it has to American vessels in international trade?

"Mr. Lodge—Before the Senator came in I stated that I did not see any distinction that could be drawn."

And at p. 11094:

"As a matter of principle under that treaty, I do not see that the coastwise trade differentiates it from a vessel in the foreign trade."

Then Senator Chamberlain says, at p 11297:

"I am not so sure but that under the terms of that treaty we not only have the power to grant discrimination or even free tolls to our coastwise traffic, but we have the right to treat American vessels engaged in foreign commerce on a different basis from foreign vessels engaged in foreign commerce, and, although it is probably not the time to do it now, the time will come when this Government will insist on its right to grant discriminatory tolls to American vessels engaged in foreign commerce."

And further, I deny flatly, even as an abstract proposition, the statement that, where there is no competition there can be no discrimination. I say there is no necessary connection whatever between the two. Suppose that all the trade through the canal to the west coast of South America were done by German ships, and all the trade to the west coast of North America by British ships. Could it be said that, because there is no competition between them, the

British ships were not discriminated against if tolls were charged upon them, while the German ships were admitted free? It seems to me that there can be no question that, in principle at any rate,—and I shall deal with the practical aspect in a moment—the present bill does discriminate in favor of American coastwise shipping, and that that proposition is sufficiently proved simply by stating that it provides for the free admission of that shipping, while all other shipping is charged tolls.

But it is said, even though that be so, and though theoretically the act be a discrimination in favor of American coastwise shipping, yet, as that shipping does not compete with the shipping of other nations, they will not be hurt by any exemption. To that I should have thought it a sufficient answer to say that an agreement is an agreement, and that it does not lie in the mouth of one of the parties to say, "It is true that what I propose to do is a violation of our agreement, but it is a violation by which you will not be hurt." Whether other nations will be hurt or not, it is so nominated in the bond, and that is enough for the other parties to the agreement.

But, whatever may be the position as to the abstract relation between discrimination and competition, to which the American argument is very largely confined, the abstract argument is really useless here, because the result of the Act is actual discrimination in fact.

If the effect of the exemption is as Americans hope, it will be to revive and strengthen their coastwise shipping, and to make it into a great and flourishing industry. It seems to me that this will result in a serious discrimination against the shipping of other nations, not only in the charges but in the conditions of the traffic through the canal, by reason of its overcrowding with American vessels. And, for that purpose, it can make no possible difference where those vessels may be bound, or in what trade they may be engaged.

The problem of crowding frequently becomes serious in the Suez Canal, which is a water level canal, and it may well become even more so in a canal of this kind, where the transit will occupy from 12 to 24 hours, and vessels will have to pass through four large locks.

And, further, there is actual competition between the coastwise trade of the United States and the trade of other nations to the same ports. It is true that only American vessels can carry goods from New York to San Francisco, but that is not to say that no other vessel carries goods to

San Francisco at all, and the goods from New York to San Francisco do compete with goods from Liverpool, or Hamburg, or whatever it may be, to the same port. The customs duties are already a considerable handicap to these competing goods of foreign nations, and discrimination against them in the canal would make their position hopeless.

In this aspect of the question we in Canada are particularly interested, because we are the only people not already seriously handicapped by the additional length of the voyage in competing with American ships for the trade to American ports. Surely it is idle to say that, when the canal is completed, there will be no competition between ships from New York to San Francisco and ships from Montreal to the same port! The result of discrimination against Canadian ships in the matter of tolls for the use of the canal may be to make it cheaper to ship the goods by rail to New York and thence in an American exempted vessel bound to San Francisco, than to ship them in a Canadian vessel.

And it may even prove a serious handicap to Canadian vessels trading between Canadian ports. For, if the tolls are heavy, it would probably pay, instead of shipping in a Canadian vessel from Montreal to Vancouver direct, to ship by rail in bond to Boston or New York and thence by an American vessel to Seattle, and then by rail again from there to Vancouver.

Indeed, both the present and the future competition between the American coastwise vessels and Canadian ships is expressly admitted by Senator Lodge himself.

I find that, at p. 11095 of the Congressional Record, Senator Reid asks:

“We have agreed according to one construction not to discriminate against the commerce or shipping of Great Britain, but, if Great Britain has no rights in our coastwise trade, then how is it discriminated against when we permit that trade, in which it has no rights, which it cannot engage in at all, to go through the canal without charge?”

And Mr. Lodge replies:

“Assuming, of course, as you must, that the interpretation is correct—that is, for the Senator’s proposition—we will assume that the view is correct that we have the right to discriminate in tolls. I think giving it to the coastwise trade of America is discrimination in favor of the whole coastwise trade of America as against a portion of the

trade of the British Dominion. I do not think the fact that it is given to an entire trade, an entire merchant marine or coastwise traffic, alters the discrimination.

"Mr. Reid—Let me state it in the concrete. No vessel can engage in the coastwise trade of the United States except a vessel registered as an American vessel. When we let that vessel go through without paying any tolls we do not discriminate between any British vessel engaged in the coastwise trade, for there can be no such vessel.

"Mr. Lodge—No, but we discriminate against a vessel engaged in another trade.

"Mr. Reid—We simply permit a vessel to go through when Great Britain cannot have such a vessel and cannot engage in such a trade. The Senator speaks of the Canadian trade; that is to say, a vessel could leave a port of Canada on the Atlantic coast, go through the canal, and land its goods at a Pacific Canadian point; but our coastwise vessels could not do that. They could not compete with Canada for that trade, and if they did carry that trade they would not be permitted, under the bill as it is now proposed, to go through the canal at all unless they paid the tolls. The minute they go into competition with the Canadian trade and haul Canadian goods they are not engaged in our coastwise trade, but they are engaged in a general shipping business. Is not that correct?

"Mr. Lodge—They may take Canadian goods at any of our ports where Canadian goods are put in bond and be in the coastwise trade. They can compete with Canadian vessels, of course.

"Mr. Reid—Do I understand the Senator to say that our vessels engaged in our coastwise trade would be permitted, under the Bill, as it is now proposed, to go to Canada and load?

"Mr. Lodge—No; they can take Canadian goods at American ports.

"Mr. Reid—Goods that had already been shipped into our country?

"Mr. Lodge—Coming in under bond. Just the same, the competition is there. There is no mistake about it. It is just as direct competition as could possibly be devised.

"Mr. Reid—It seems to me that when the goods get into an American port and are then taken by an American vessel engaged in the coastwise trade, it becomes American coastwise trade. We come back to the technical point again. You are not taking away from England any right, or mak-

ing a discrimination against an English vessel, because you are not taking away from that vessel any right which it can enjoy under the law.

“Mr. Lodge—The discrimination in competition seemed very clear to me and very direct. I think they feel it very much in Canada.”

The present Act would seem to come well within the language of President Cleveland when protesting in reference to the Welland Canal against the Canadian practice of rebating in his message to Congress in 1881.

“To promise equality and then in practice make it conditional upon our vessels doing Canadian business instead of their own is to fulfil a promise with the shadow of performance.”

When the facts are known to the thinking people of the United States, will they not almost universally echo the sentiment of Senator Burton?

“Mr. President, in the face of this, can we honorably claim that there was a secret understanding or a secret purpose in our minds to claim a construction directly opposed to what we had declared in our vote should not be our policy? If so, we were neither honest with ourselves nor with the world.”

In any event, treaty obligations and national honor both require that the construction of the treaty should be left to arbitration.

The Juvenile Court and Probation System for Children.

W. L. SCOTT, OTTAWA,

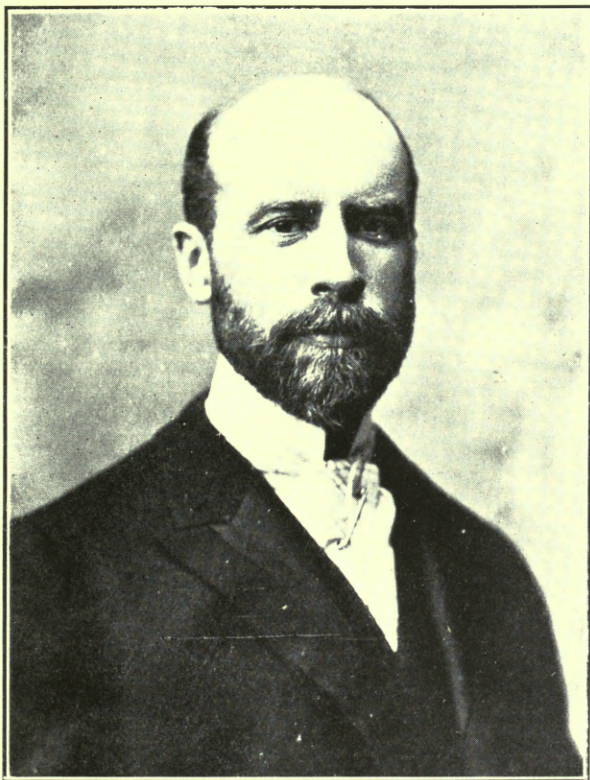
President Association of Children's Aid Societies of Ontario.

(January 17, 1913.)

I HAVE spoken and written so much in the past few years on the subject of the Juvenile Court that I am forcibly reminded on an occasion such as this of the congregation who stopped their pastor's salary on the ground that they had "heard all those same sermons before." Still as Juvenile Courts in the modern conception of the term as yet exist in only a comparatively few places in Canada, and as Hamilton is not one of them, and as, moreover, this is the first occasion on which I have had the privilege of addressing a Hamilton audience, I may perhaps be pardoned some repetition.

Some time ago I had the pleasure of being present at a lecture delivered by a man who had for some years been at the head of a large penal institution and who was looked on as an authority on the subject of crime and criminals. The title of his lecture was "The Present Trend of Penology," but he began by saying that students of penology discovered little new that was of value and that it all came back to the maxim "take care of the children." He illustrated this by a story. He told of a certain sheep farm which was traversed by a very rapid river. One day, as the farmer and his son were near the river at the lower end of the farm, they saw a number of their sheep being carried down by the stream. Both men at once plunged in and made efforts to haul them out, but owing to the swiftness of the current and to the fact that the sheep were most of them already nearly or quite drowned, and that more were coming down every moment, the men were meeting with scant success. Finally the farmer said to his son: "Jim, let's quit this and go up and get after the man that's throwing them in."

Has it ever occurred to you to think what a vast number of people there are in jail and what a great loss and an enormous expense their being there means to the community. The cost of catching, prosecuting and supporting criminals is one of the largest items of public expenditure, to say no-



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thing of the far greater loss involved in the withdrawal of these men from useful citizenship. We are inclined to look on crime as inevitable, but it is very largely if not entirely preventable. Criminals, unlike poets, are made, not born, and they are for the best part made in childhood. If you enquire into the life histories of the criminals confined in our jails and penitentiaries, you will find that their criminal careers began in childhood. This, moreover, corresponds to the personal experience of all. The characters of adults are very largely fixed. The honest man remains honest. The criminal cannot usually be reformed. We are told that in the case of habitual criminals, after 25 or 30 years reform is extremely difficult, and after 40 almost impossible. Experience on the contrary shows that children, under favourable conditions, almost anything can be made. A child is like a lump of putty, soft at first and easily moulded, taking its shape from its surroundings, but gradually hardening until at maturity it has become iron, with a shape which will persist until the end.

Despite the undoubtedly great influence which heredity exerts on the physical and mental make up of the individual, it has no direct effect in moulding his moral character. That is the work of his environment. A child comes into the world neither moral nor immoral, but unmoral. Morality or the reverse is something to be acquired. This may come as a surprise to some, but is undoubtedly the case, as every practical worker with children knows. I am of course aware that the very reverse is taught by a certain school of criminologists, notable among whom are Lombroso and Ferri, and others of what is known as the Italian School. These men speak of the "born criminal" and pretend to recognize him by certain "stigmata" or marks of crime. Dr. Travis, an American criminologist, has thrown a great deal of light on this theory in his book "The Young Malefactor," which was the result of years of study and investigation, both in America and Europe. He recognized these "stigmata" but he found that only five per cent. of the first offenders had them. And in this lies the explanation. They are not stigmata of crime at all, but of low or abnormal mentality. A person of abnormal mentality is not necessarily a criminal, but he is much more likely to become one than a person of average intelligence. And feeble mindedness is of course hereditary. Probably nearly five per cent. of child offenders are more or less mentally defective.

In the case of a certain number of children, delinquency is due to physical defect. Adenoid growth, or eye strain,

or ear ache robs a child of nervous force which is required for carrying on the ordinary functions of the body and an abnormal condition is brought about which results in lack of self control and consequently in delinquency. We had a boy in Ottawa who, do what we would, could not be kept from stealing. He had a crooked neck, due to a slight spinal curvature, and we at length tried a surgical operation, which proved successful. He has never once transgressed since, and is now fairly launched on a useful and honest career.

But leaving aside the exceptional cases of the mentally or physically defective, who together make up little more than five per cent., certainly not more than ten per cent. of juvenile first offenders, the children who are breaking the criminal law are just ordinary normal children, and their moral condition is entirely the result of environment. They are just what your children or my children would be if similarly situated. Yet from these our criminal population is being constantly recruited.

What, then, are we doing to stop this criminal stream at its source? What are we doing to save these children?

The first duty is of course with the parents. If all parents did their whole duty by their children, the crime problem would almost disappear. But the preparation for good parenthood must begin in childhood and again I ask, what are we doing for the children?

The Children's Aid Societies of the Province are doing a great deal.

As some of those present may be unfamiliar with their work, let me explain briefly what it is. The Children's Aid Society endeavours to improve home conditions, and where improvement is impossible, removes the children and places them in foster homes, preferably in the country. Thousands of children have in the past 15 or 20 years been removed from evil surroundings throughout the province, and of those placed in foster homes, over 98 per cent. are said to have done well. Could there be a stronger proof of my assertion that it is environment and not heredity that determines the moral character of children. Of these thousands of children taken from irreclaimable homes, less than two per cent. turn out badly! But while the Children's Aid Societies are thus preventing many children from getting into the Courts, they are doing little or nothing towards helping children who have already got there. What is being done in the case of these?

When a child comes before the criminal court in a place

where the Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act is not in force, there are three alternatives open to the Court,—jail, suspended sentence and the industrial school.

Jail! A school for crime! Think of any child in jail! Is it possible that children are ever sent there? To our eternal disgrace, let it be said that there are hundreds of children at this moment in the jails and penitentiaries throughout the Dominion. Our descendants a generation or two hence will scarcely believe that such conditions could have existed in this enlightened age.

When sentence is suspended, without more, the child is sent back to the bad environment without help or change, and in most cases the downward course, which was the result of that environment, will go on unchecked.

Commitment to an industrial school has many serious disadvantages. The contaminating influence arising from the segregation of delinquents is very difficult to prevent. The atmosphere is artificial. Boys who go there are branded and find it extremely hard to live this down. While, therefore, some cases must go to the industrial school, don't send a boy there unless you have made an honest and patient effort to deal with him otherwise.

Leaving aside jail as unworthy of consideration, the choice lies between a reform school which seldom reforms, and suspended sentence, which means doing nothing and trusting to luck. But where the Juvenile Delinquents Act is in force, there is another and much more effective method and that is probation. Probation has been spoken of as the keystone of the arch of the modern juvenile court. The juvenile court, as it is now generally understood, is a most wonderful development chiefly of the last ten or twelve years. There have been for many years juvenile courts, so called, throughout Ontario. When these were established twenty years ago, they were considered very advanced. But they have stood still and modern development has gone far past them. They are in fact little more than separate private sessions of the police court. The juvenile court is far more than a separate court for children. It has a spirit and a viewpoint and methods the very opposite of those of the criminal court. The chief characteristics of the court are, first, its consideration of the great value of the child, both for its own sake and for the sake of the state. Second, its recognition of the fact that delinquency is due to environment, and third, its abandonment of the idea of retributive justice. The juvenile court inflicts no punishments on children. A child may be committed to the

industrial school, but he is committed not for punishment, but for training. The criminal court asks, what has this child done and how is he to be punished? The juvenile court asks, what is the condition of this child; in what respects does it need help, and how best can it be helped? Briefly, the fundamental idea of the court is paternalism, the assumption by the court of the position of parent to the child.

It has already been pointed out that the child is the product of its own environment. When, therefore, a child is brought before the juvenile court, the first care of the court, is to endeavor to ascertain through the probation officer or otherwise, what in this particular case is the cause of the trouble. The probation officer's duty is to go and see the child as a friend, to win its confidence and get its story of what has taken place. He then goes to the home, to the school, to the place of employment and anywhere else where information can be got, in order to find out all that is ascertainable about the child and its past history. There should also, if at all possible, be a medical examination to determine whether or not mental or physical defects exist. The necessity for all this is obvious. How can a wise decision be come to with regard to the child unless the fullest information is at hand?

Having ascertained what the trouble is the judge is in a position to deal with the case. In the vast majority of cases the action taken will be the release of the child on probation in charge of the probation officer. The probation officer should thereafter see the child frequently—at first, at least, it should be every day—and endeavour to impress the stamp of his own personality on the child. His idea is not so much reformation as formation—to form the character of that child, still in the formative period. I have likened a child to putty, gradually hardening and taking the marks of its surroundings. It is the work of the probation officer by gentle continued effort to efface the marks of evil surroundings or perhaps years of neglect, and to replace them with lines of virtue and honesty and truth. He goes into the home as a friend and tactfully endeavours to remove or alter whatever is wrong. In brief, he endeavours, if possible, to remove from the environment of the child that which was causing its downfall. In order to reform the child he must frequently reform first the whole family. If the family cannot be reformed the child is removed to a foster home. It must always be remembered that probation is not mere supervision or watch care, or rather it is much

more than that. It means character building and home improving. Unless the probation officer can feel that he has by his influence made a lasting change for the better in the character of the child and left the home and the environment in general better than he found them, he cannot claim to have succeeded even though the probationer has not been returned to the court for a new offence. The probation officer should be sympathetic, tactful and resourceful, and should possess a large fund of optimism, balanced by good judgment. He should act through kindness, but wisdom is even more important. Without insight, kindness will be of little use. It is just as in medicine, unless the doctor knows what is wrong he cannot cure. But while there must be kindness it must never degenerate into weakness. There must be firmness; the parties must be made to feel that behind the officer there is the firm hand of the law. A few days in the detention home or shelter is often useful in this regard. And once it is plain that probation will not succeed there should be a commitment to an industrial school.

A powerful adjunct of probation is the Big Brother Movement. In 1910 the Big Brother organization in New York alone handled 1242 boys, of whom only three per cent. were returned to the court on any charge whatever.

The "big brother" is in some respects an amateur probation officer. He is a friend to the boy, helps him to find employment and in general helps him in his troubles or, better still, teaches him to help himself. He may take the boy with him for an occasional walk in the country or to a football or hockey match. He holds up to him by precept and example an ideal towards the realization of which the boy will naturally tend. There is not a normal child who, if taken by the right person and in the right way, cannot be reformed. The "big brother" may succeed where the regular probation officer would fail. In any case he can render very material assistance. The work may at first sight seem to entail a great sacrifice, but it will be found to be extremely interesting work, occupies far less time than might be imagined and is certainly worth while. It is generally admitted that a hobby is an excellent thing. What better or nobler hobby than that of making good citizens and good Christians out of these poor little victims of circumstances.

The Committee of the Society should play an important part in the carrying on of probation, chiefly in the way of supervision. Probation to be effective must be carefully and constantly supervised. If it should degenerate into a

mere matter of routine it might almost as well be discontinued. It must be kept ardent and enthusiastic with every new case as with the first. Our committee meets once a week, hears reports on the cases, discusses them and endeavours to assist the court and the probation officer in deciding what action to take. The detention home is a very necessary part of the system. It is for the temporary custody of children on remand and awaiting action to avoid the necessity of their being sent to jail. The Ottawa home is to all appearances a private house, standing in the middle of a two acre garden, in which in the summer the children work. It is in charge of a man and his wife, and is conducted as far as possible like a family home, no more restraint being imposed than is found to be absolutely necessary. Clerical instruction and manual training are very desirable, so that the children may be kept occupied and may not miss schooling.

Probation has been in operation in Ottawa since 1906, and it has proved most successful. We have found it necessary to send only about two and one-half or three per cent to the industrial schools, and while we have always on hand a certain number of troublesome cases, the great majority of those who have passed through the court have done extremely well.

Moreover, in spite of the great growth of the city the total number of children coming before the juvenile court has for the past two years been steadily decreasing.

We have on our statute books an excellent juvenile court law known as the Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act. This Act is, however, in force only where it has been put in force by proclamation, and it will be proclaimed only where the machinery necessary to its proper enforcement has been locally provided. It is now in force in Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Halifax and Charlottetown and is about to be put in force throughout the Province of Alberta. The Act makes ample provision for the carrying on of the work along thoroughly modern lines. Besides those relating to probation, there are many excellent provisions. Among them the following may be briefly referred to. An adult may be held originally responsible for causing delinquency in a child. A fine for the offence of a child or compensation for damages done by it may be collected from its parent or guardian. The usual formalities of a trial such as arraignment, pleading, election, etc., none of which a child understands, may be dispensed with. Confinement of a child in jail is prohibited. Newspapers are forbidden

to publish the names of delinquent children. Offences of adults in respect to children may be tried privately in the juvenile court. The term "criminal," is no longer applied to a child. The juvenile court has exclusive jurisdiction, so that trial by jury or in a public court is in all cases eliminated.

The spirit of the Act is well shown in the language of section 31, which reads as follows :

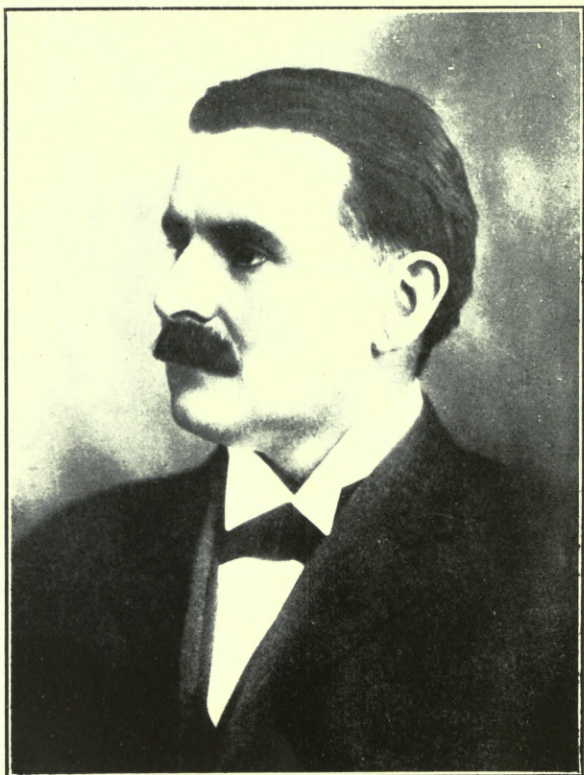
31. This Act shall be liberally construed to the end that its purpose may be carried out, to wit: That the care and custody and discipline of a juvenile delinquent shall approximate as nearly as may be that which should be given by its parents, and that as far as practicable every juvenile delinquent shall be treated, not as a criminal, but as a misdirected and misguided child, and one needing aid, encouragement, help and assistance.

The people of Hamilton should see to it that the advantages of this most beneficial legislation are secured to the city without further delay. As I understand you already have a detention home, the only additional expense which would be necessary would be the salaries of say two or three probation officers. I would suggest a man and two ladies. You might, however, even begin with one officer and add others later. A special juvenile court judge selected for his fitness for dealing with children, such as they have in Toronto, Montreal and Winnipeg, would be a great advantage. If, however, that does not seem at present practicable, the police magistrate or one of your county judges could be designated.

I gather from a card announcing this address that 27 children were sent to the industrial schools from Hamilton last year. If you had an effective system of probation you should be able to cut this number down to seven. Each of these children will cost the City of Hamilton \$85.00 for the first year and \$65.00 for each subsequent year that it is in the school. It will in addition cost the provincial government \$142.00 per year. Children committed to the industrial school for an offence are sent there for an indefinite term of not less than two or more than five years. Taking the minimum of two years, 20 children will cost a total of \$8,680.00, of which the city will pay \$3,000.00 and the government \$5,680.00. Here would be a direct present saving to the city of \$3,000.00, which would itself go a long way towards paying the expenses of a proper juvenile court.

No time should be lost in following out these suggestions. Do not lay yourselves open to the reproach conveyed

in the motto which was so conspicuous at the recent splendid child welfare exhibition in Montreal : " The voice of the child cries out against you." Do not let a question of expense deter you. Is any sum too great to pay for the saving of the children ? Moreover, judged even by the standard of dollars and cents it will mean an immense saving. We have our state paid agents to protect the trout and the grouse and the deer. Are these more valuable than our children ? We have our government agents by the score studying how best to promote and protect the crops. Our greatest and most important crop is our children. We labour under the growing expense of capturing, prosecuting, housing and feeding our ever increasing army of criminals. There is one way and one way only of dealing adequately with the crime problem, and that is by dealing sensibly with the children. Not only is this demanded on humanitarian grounds. It is dictated by economy. A dollar spent on saving children will save many hundreds of dollars later on. The delinquent children of to-day are the adult criminals of to-morrow in the making. It is wiser and less expensive to save the children now than to punish the criminals hereafter.



J. O. McCARTHY,
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Some Social Problems of Civic Government.

J. O. MCCARTHY, CONTROLLER, TORONTO.

(January 3, 1913.)

I ESTEEM it a very great honor to be favored with a seat at your table and to address you. I consented to speak to you to-day on "Social Problems of Municipal Government," and I am trusting more in your sympathetic interest than I am in my own knowledge or ability to deal with the subject.

I plead guilty to your press of being a member of a municipal government (perhaps the Hamilton Press do not criticize your council, or perhaps your municipal men are ideal), and I cannot even claim the virtue of the Irish aldermanic candidate in an Ontario town, who in a campaign speech said, "We reduced the tax rate this year to ten mills, and if you re-elect me I will move to cut off another ten mills."

Mr. President, I am glad that I have some part in the building of one of our great Canadian cities. I appreciate this Club giving me an opportunity to discuss some of the social problems already too common to every city government, and I appreciate the keen, critical interest of the press in municipal matters, and in no other class of problems than social problems would it be so utterly helpless to make headway without the press.

We are apt to think of municipal government as referring to streets, pavements, sewers, police and taxes. We are so concerned with the building of the city that before we realize it, we have permitted the seeds of the worst social ills and evils of the old continental cities to be sown in our midst and conditions established that neither time, effort nor money will eradicate.

Municipal government is in large measure domestic government; it deals with the matters that effect our children, our families, ourselves, our homes. The character or class of man who represents your ward in the city council is of more vital importance to you and to your home than the character of the man who represents you in the Provincial or Dominion Government.

Fifty years ago seventy per cent. of the population of

this continent lived in rural districts; to-day seventy per cent. of the people of this continent are living an unnatural life under unnatural conditions among the bricks and mortar and electric wire cages of our modern cities. The fertile farm of yesterday is the site to-day of great manufacturing enterprises; the growth of cities has destroyed the playhouse barn of the country boy; has stolen his bush, where, with nature's wise permission, he could play truant and hunt nuts and squirrels; has turned the stream, where he got his first lessons in civil engineering, into an ill-smelling sewer—and, greater offence, has stolen his heritage of a nature school that nothing between the kindergarten and the university, inclusive, can take the place of. For these possessions the modern city has asked him to accept a choice between the policeman's baton, if he kicks his football on the street, or the threat of "no supper" from the housemaid if he attempts to play amid the entanglement of clothes lines in the 20 x 40 back yard. For the song of the bird and the twitter of the squirrel, the boy is asked to take the whistle of the peanut push cart or the eye-killing glare of the picture show.

No city on this continent has played fair with the boy; give him back his playground—not a park of beds of flowers, but an acre free from restrictions, where he can play; an acre that he can reach every day—and not weekly—with a lunch in his pocket. Schools to educate and juvenile courts to protect and save should be secondary to proper and ample playgrounds. In my own city a juvenile court, with its probation system, cared last year for nearly two thousand delinquent children, ninety-eight per cent. of whom made good under the system. I would that you could hear the daily story of "nowhere to play." I may tell you that that daily story of "nowhere to play" had some connection with the fact that we invested a million dollars last year in buying parks and playgrounds. Cut off twenty-five per cent. of your expenditure on public schools and apply it to playgrounds and you will give to the world better manhood and womanhood.

The varied phases of the child problem of municipal government would furnish abundance of material for a separate address, but I pass it by with the one plea for "Fair Play Playgrounds." Give a boy a home—a real home and not an apartment house—and a playground; teach him to respect gray hairs and God's holy day, and you have given him a mighty good start in the battle of life.

There is no large city without a housing problem. There

are a few simple and provable truths that every civic legislator should be seized of, viz.:

(a) There is a direct relation between housing conditions and national character..

(b) It is not so much the vicious, criminal, unhealthy, poor people move into poor houses, but that slums breed vice, crime, ill-health and pauperism.

(c) Slum houses are dear houses to live in.

(d) Slum houses are not usually owned by poor people, but by rich men and wealthy corporations.

(e) It would be cheaper for a municipality to buy its slum properties, tear down the houses and resell the land than to take care of the crime, physical wrecks and poverty that slums produce.

(f) The slum dweller is a type easily recognized in some European cities. Two blocks of slum property in Paris were transformed into model, though not expensive housing conditions, with the result that the arrests the year following the completion of the transformation were less than twenty-five per cent. of those the year preceding the beginning of the work, although over sixty per cent. of the families resident in the former slums occupied the new premises.

A social worker tells us that of 128 girls between 15 and 25 years of age found in 69 slum houses in an American city over 100 were openly immoral.

While we endeavor to get rid of old slum houses let us remember that new houses may have slum beginnings. New houses with windowless rooms, back lane or rear houses and houses without sufficient areas can and should be prevented. Municipal government should not permit this class of buildings in the light of the knowledge of to-day. "Where the sun does not enter the doctor does," says the Italians. Dr. Knoph, after extensive investigation, tells us that mortality from tuberculosis is three times as high among prisoners as it is among the general population.

Preventible diseases have cost the city of New York from thirty-seven to forty-one millions of dollars a year for the last four years. \$166,248,408.00 is the total estimate of the wealth poured out in these four years for wasteful pain and suffering. For millions of that great total, tenements and slums are directly responsible. New York has over one hundred thousand absolutely dark living rooms; has nearly three hundred thousand living rooms without sufficient light and sunshine, while over twenty-five thousand New York families live in cellars.

Offenbach au Main, in Germany, had a death rate from

1870 to 1880 of 23.6 per thousand. Then the city began, with the assistance of the Government, a housing campaign. From 1880 to 1890 the death rate was 20.8; from 1890 to 1900 it was 18.15; from 1900 to 1908 it was 14.8; every year for twenty years saw a reduced death rate as slums were eradicated. Dollars and human lives can be saved in every city by attention to the housing problem.

How far is the state justified in taking action to improve the quality of its people? Should the mentally, physically and morally unfit be allowed to multiply their kind? These questions are engaging the attention of many governments. Since the state must provide the asylums, the homes, the prisons and the hospitals that these fast multiplying wrecks will fill it does seem that the state has some right of action.

There are at large in Ontario between 5000 and 6000 feeble-minded persons. These persons are generally speaking unable to care for themselves or to protect their own person. They are and always will be children. These 6000 are a fearful source of pauperism, immorality and crime. Last year nearly 500 feeble-minded women and girls in Ontario became mothers. "Like begets like." In yonder hospital to-day a poor feeble-minded girl of fourteen is a mother for the second time; in yonder institution a girl of this type of nineteen has her fifth child. She herself was the nineteenth illegitimate child of a mental defective. An expert examination last year disclosed the fact that of 391 inmates of two industrial schools in this province, 135 were mental defectives or border-line cases.

For twenty years the responsibility of caring for the feeble-minded has been foot-balled back and forth by the province and the municipalities. It has been estimated that during these years it has cost the municipalities five times more to take care of the resultant want, vice and crime of this class than it would have cost to have kept them in custodial care.

At a largely attended Provincial conference held in Toronto last year a resolution was adopted asking the Government to provide custodial training schools for these persons; the municipality to bear the cost for caring for them until they were 21 years of age and the Government to care for those that needed custodial care after that. This resolution has since been endorsed by many municipalities. We had hoped to see action by the Government at this session. The same conference asked the Government to enact legislation prohibiting the marriage of the feeble-

mind ed and we are glad of the very commendable bill passed at this session.

The feeble-minded problem in Ontario demands—

1. Custodial training schools where these persons will be happier and society safer.

2. Prohibition of marriage of such persons.

3. That the issuing of marriage licenses should be a subject of municipal supervision and not a matter of political patronage amounting too often, as at present, to a farce.

The mental defective, the chronic criminal and the sexual pervert should not be allowed to propagate their kind, and if custodial care cannot be given, the next kindest way is that the surgeon should be employed.

The unsolved problem and the biggest one that legislators have to grip with in the next ten years is social vice and prostitution. Never in the history of the world has society been more concerned with this problem than now. It is perhaps safe to say that this concern is not so much a keener appreciation of the moral law as it is a knowledge of the fearful hygienic effects upon the human race. Social workers are learning to teach as well as to preach; to educate as well as legislate; the dissemination of the knowledge that paresis, the product of syphilis, is filling our asylums; the mental agony and remorse of such parent who has "sown his wild oats" as he discovers nature's punishment of sterility when he would wish it otherwise; the worse agony of the parent who sees his disease of former years rotting the life out of a loved child; the parent who watches his sightless child groping its way through life suffering the punishment for his indulgence; the parent who follows child after child to the grave, knowing that the untimely death of these children is due to the parent's sin, or, more charitably speaking, ignorance in former days—these are the mighty influences that are stirring the impulse for good to be found in all men. When Kitchener began his campaign in the English army against syphilis, he was not so much impelled by moral conscience as by the desire to rid his army of a serious disability that reduced the efficiency of his men and turned hospitals from the use for which they were intended. It is a sad reflection upon our 20th century civilization that the Medical Officer of New York should report that during the past five years he has been able to reduce the infant mortality of his city from every cause, save one—and that syphilis.

Every city has its vice problem and is anxious to im-

prove the situation: but how? and what is wise? Toleration, licensing, inspection and segregation has in turn been suggested by well intentioned people as well as by men who either had not studied the problem or had leased their moral conscience.

Rather than express opinions let us see what facts are at hand to guide us. The vice commission appointed by the City of Chicago unanimously reported, after exhaustive study and enquiry, against segregation and in favor of constant, persistent repression, although nearly a third of the members of the commission were in favor of segregation when they were appointed to the commission. The experience and the report of the Chicago commission was a repetition of that of a similar commission in Minneapolis. There is no large European city, except Hamburg, in which segregation exists as an official measure, although over seventy cities have at one time or another tried such a policy in one form or another. The medical commission appointed by an European Hygienic Association say in their report "that 100 per cent. of prostitutes have syphilis."

I have heard men, well intentioned men, argue in favor of a system of licensing and inspection such as exists in Paris, Berlin and Vienna as a means of reducing vice and prostitution. Let us see what the facts are: The municipal returns of Paris say that 6000 prostitutes are thus recognized, while the report of the Chief of Police says that there are 45,000 prostitutes—not counting males—in that city. The corresponding figures for Berlin are 2,016 and 26,000, and for Vienna 3,063 and 30,000. "The more regulation the more prostitution," is an absolute fact proven over and over again. In dealing with this problem, I, with hesitation, make three suggestions:

1. Venereal diseases should be reportable to a City's Health Department, the same as smallpox, typhoid, scarlet fever, diphtheria and other communicable diseases.

2. Educate—let every man, woman and child know the cause of, and the fearful physical consequences, both to the present and future generation of syphilis.

3. Seek to improve the bad social conditions that breed vice; try to see that ignorance, bad housing, lax policing, sweat shop wages, etc., are responsible for more vice than people's vicious tendencies.

"A dollar and costs or thirty days" is not sane or 20th century treatment for the inebriate. Protection and care rather than punishment should be the thought. The hospital

is more needed than the cell. Every muscle, every tissue, every brain cell of the inebriate is sick. Instead of the cell, put him on an industrial farm in the country where with work, food, sleep and God's fresh air and sunlight he will rebuild mentally and physically. You thus save dollars and you save a man to the community and to his family. Some glad day the state will stop creating inebriates and then treating them as criminals.

No mother left with her little family to support should have to leave them uncared for while she goes out to earn bread for them. The neglected child on the street soon becomes delinquent. Let the childless mansion help care for the state's fatherless children. It would be a wiser policy for the Government to spend some of the money spent in enticing immigrants from the world over in caring for the orphans who are, generally speaking, born of the best and will make the very best citizens in the days to come.

Wife desertion is, nine times out of ten, child desertion also. I wish I could find some name mean enough for or some place hot enough for the despicable wretch that deserts wife and children, and yet in this country the state must share the blame. If a man steals the spoons off his table, the arm of the law will chase over the country; if he deserts his children we take up a collection. The deserter is in reality often as guilty as the murderer.

Under the present law the family must be in want—paupers—before the deserter can be punished. The law should be changed and desertion made a criminal offence.

One more suggestion. Let the women of Canada make the law for the deserter. We men haven't much to be proud of in this connection.

The municipal government that does not concern itself with the housing of the people, the quality of its people, the air they breathe, the food they eat, the amusements that entertain, with the growth of the child army in a clean, moral atmosphere, is either professional in its character or criminally indifferent and negligent.

Let me in closing use this opportunity to protest against the senseless policy we have in this country of annual municipal elections; a policy that prevents continuity of planning and of execution—that prevents continuity of law making and of application. Annual elections delay public improvements and interrupt social reforms and betterment. A term of two or three years would, I believe, result in a more independent and intelligent civic administration.

The future manhood, future womanhood, the human effi-

ciency of your people, depends upon your civic government and are purchasable quantities—purchasable by a wise expenditure of money to prevent those conditions that stifle and dwarf these ideals; purchasable by education, by moral courage and common honesty of government. A day of time and a dollar of money spent now in prevention of bad social conditions will accomplish more than ten days and ten dollars will accomplish in cure ten years hence. Lloyd George spoke truly when he said that it would be a greater national disgrace for the Union Jack to float over slum houses and inferior types of humanity than for it to suffer defeat on the field of battle.

I am not so much concerned that Canada be a great or a wealthy nation as I am concerned that the term "Canadian" shall be the world over a passport of good health and good breeding, a certificate of true manhood and a standard of human efficiency. May the Union Jack ever float over "Canadians" of this type in your city and in mine.



WILL W. LEE,
Immigration Secretary Y. M. C. A., Quebec.

Our Immigration Problem,

Or the Effect of the Non-English Speaking Foreigner on Canadian Public Life.

BY W. W. LEE, Y.M.C.A. IMMIGRATION SECRETARY, QUEBEC.

(February 14, 1913.)

I AM always covetous of the opportunity of presenting to any group of men what I am thoroughly convinced is the most vital and pressing problem affecting our national life to-day. More particularly am I covetous of that opportunity when the group is composed, as in this instance, of Canadian citizens who meet periodically for the express purpose of promoting and fostering that spirit of true patriotism which is so absolutely essential to the well-being of this Dominion. For this reason, I am doubly appreciative of the honor which you have conferred upon me in inviting me to be your guest on this occasion.

Let me at the outset, to prevent any possible misunderstanding, define that word "Immigrant," as I shall use it in the course of my address. I think the time is not far distant when we shall cease to classify as an immigrant the man who moves from one part of the British Empire to another, any more than we would use the term as applied to a man moving from Ontario to a western province. For this reason, then, when I refer to an immigrant or an immigration problem, I am referring only to non-English speaking peoples and the coming of such to our shores.

It is unfortunate but undoubtedly true that in the past we as a nation have been inclined to minimize, if not to entirely overlook, our immigration problem, and have thought that the United States had a monopoly in that respect. This after all is only natural in as much that we have seen in our rapidly increasing immigration only a source of supply to meet the heavy demand for unskilled labor so necessary to the development of a new country.

Many of us have followed more or less closely the troubles which the United States have had with their alien population; and because our immigration has been numerically less than theirs, we have been inclined to think that the problem arising therefrom was proportionately small. As a matter of fact, we are to-day facing a problem which

both in its extent and acuteness is at least twice, if not three times as large as any problem which our neighbors to the south ever faced in this connection. During the past ten years we have admitted from Europe direct over 500,000 foreign-speaking immigrants. Added to this there are the 15,000 such who come to us annually from the United States, making in all a total of 650,000. In other words, one-fourteenth of our present day population came here less than ten years ago as non-English speaking immigrants. The highest proportion of such ever admitted into the United States in ten years was one-thirty-ninth of their population.

The composition of this non-English speaking immigration is materially the same as theirs, in-as-much that over 70 per cent. of it has come from Southern Europe and in most cases from countries where the standards of living, etc., of these people are far below those of this country. Their coming in such vast numbers can only result in one or two possible effects. Either they must inevitably slowly but surely drag us down to their own level, or we, on the other hand, will lift them to the level of our own country and ideals. Which of these two things happen in the next one-half century, will depend, not upon these peoples themselves, nor upon laws which you may put upon the statute books. It will depend entirely upon the attitude which we Canadians (either native born or adopted), take towards this problem and towards these people, and our own fate in this respect may truly be said to be in our own hands.

You will readily understand that in the time we have this evening it will be impossible to deal fully and in detail with such a vast subject as this; and I know that you will pardon me if I deal only in generalities and with the most outstanding and important phases of this question.

It may be well for us to study this matter under four heads.

First—The causes of this non-English speaking immigration.

Secondly—The effects of this immigration upon our economic, social and political life.

Thirdly—The effects of the changed environment in this country upon the immigrants themselves.

Fourthly—With the question of their assimilation into our national life, and then to briefly consider some possible steps leading towards a solution of the problem.

Broadly speaking, we may say there are three ordinary causes of the heavy immigration of non-English speaking peoples during the past ten years. The first has been the

prosperity of this country, for undoubtedly every foreign-speaking man who came here during the past ten years and who prospered was responsible for several others either of his relatives or friends following him.

The second cause has been the cheap and easy transportation facilities which have prevailed during that time; and in this connection it is interesting to note that the expected Atlantic rate war will possibly make it possible for man to come from Trieste, Hungary, to Quebec, for the sum of \$10.00.

The third and equally important cause has been, as I mentioned previously, the heavy and increasing demand for unskilled labor to carry on the great construction and industrial projects of this country.

Probably the most outstanding economic effects which this non-English speaking immigration has had, have been upon labor and upon our housing and living conditions in industrial communities. So far as I have been able to find out during the course of this past two years' investigation, it is a fallacy to suppose that the non-English speaking immigrant has had either the effect of lowering the standard of wages or of driving out English-speaking labor to the disadvantage of the laborer. On the contrary, I have found that almost invariably the foreign-speaking laborer has demanded and received equally high, if not higher wages, than the English-speaking in the same industries; and while it is true that in many cases English-speaking labor has been displaced, it has only been driven into semi-skilled or higher paid lines of labor, and this has undoubtedly been beneficial indirectly to the English-speaking laborer.

When we come to a consideration, however, of the effects upon the living and housing conditions, I must confess the outlook is far from bright: Let me in this connection describe to you two boarding-houses that I found in the course of my investigations, one in an Eastern city last year, and the other in a Western city this year. The former was a ten-roomed frame house in which there were living one hundred and fifty-six Austrian laborers. They were in two shifts, night and day, and consequently the beds, if such they could be called, were never cold. Let me describe to you in detail one room in this house. By actual measurement it was fourteen feet by thirteen, and in it there were cooking, eating, sleeping and living fourteen men. The vermin were so thick on the beds that where I stood talking for a few minutes with my overcoat touching them, I had to brush the vermin off before leaving the room. I leave it for

you to judge whether people living under these circumstances and in these conditions are not only a menace to their own health, but also to the health of the community at large.

The other house I mentioned had one large room under the eaves, twenty-four feet by sixty. In this there were nineteen double beds, each accommodating three men, making in all a total of fifty-seven, with less than one hundred cubic feet of air space each. The standard of good living, I may mention, gives four hundred and fifty cubic feet as the minimum.

Do not let us make a very common mistake though, and blame these conditions upon the foreign-speaking peoples themselves, for the United States Immigration Commission, which spent some \$14,000,000 in investigating this problem thoroughly, reports that there is no racial tendency on the part of any of these people toward overcrowding or living under unhygienic conditions, but that these conditions are due entirely to the economic pressure upon which we bring to bear upon them by not providing them with adequate housing facilities at a reasonable rental.

Turning to the social effects of this immigration, we have to bear in mind one very important fact, namely, that by far the great majority of these peoples, particularly those from southern Europe, are illiterate in their own language, and this imposes a very heavy burden upon the educational institutions of our country.

Prescott F. Hall, of Boston, recently compiled some startling figures regarding criminality among these peoples, and he found that in proportion to their numbers they furnished more than twice as many criminals in the United States than did the native population, and what was more significant, that their children furnished three times as many such. The report of the North West Mounted Police for the past year would indicate that in this country a very similar thing is happening, in as much that these foreign-speaking people predominate too largely in our police court records. In talking during the past two years with Police Magistrates, Chiefs of Police, etc., they tell me that here again the blame should not be laid upon these people, but rather upon the fact of their changed environment and ignorance of our language and laws.

When we come to a consideration of the political effects, I know we are treading upon delicate ground; and yet I cannot but confess that it would seem as though our political standards were being lowered by the fact of these peo-

ple's ignorance of the issues at stake and the consequent buying and selling their votes by unscrupulous politicians. While such incidents have never come under my own observation, I am told by people throughout the country that whole districts of foreigners have been bought and sold at election time, and that in many cases the balance of power is in the hands of these men who have no permanent stake in our country.

Stated briefly, we may say that the effect of the changed environment in this country upon these foreigners from Europe is two-fold, mental and physical. The mental effects as shown by the facts that the inmates of the lunatic asylums in this province in proportion to their numbers in the province, there are twice as many of the foreign nationalities than of native.

The physical effects are shown by, in many instances, decreased stature on the part of the children and a change in the shape of the skull, the round-headed Russian tending to revert to a long and narrow-headed type, while the long and narrow-headed Sicilian tends to revert in the opposite direction. If there is this tendency to revert to a definite physical type in one generation, how much more complex does the whole question of assimilation become.

I had a rather unique opportunity last year of judging of the assimilation, or rather non-assimilation, of these peoples in a trip which I took to Europe as a steerage passenger on a boat carrying non-English speaking men who were returning to their native land after three to seven years' residence here in Canada. Of the one hundred and forty-three men on board who represented twenty-five nationalities, all but two were coming back in the spring to make their permanent home here. Just one of the one hundred and forty-three had some idea of taking out his naturalization papers when he returned. Five of them had some knowledge of our political methods, but only of the grafting side. Fifteen of them could speak English enough to compose a sentence of ten or twelve words. Beyond this and except for the fact that every last man on board could swear very fluently in English, they were no more Canadianized after that three to seven years' residence than the day they landed; and I thought then if those men are typical of the one-fourteenth of our population which they represent, we are face to face with a far more serious problem than we have yet realized.

We must bear in mind in considering this question of assimilation that there is one factor that is largely retard-

ing such assimilation, that being the natural tendency of these foreign-speaking people to segregate themselves among those of their own nationality where they do not come in contact with any Canadianizing agencies or influences.

And now in conclusion, to turn to some possible steps for the solution of this problem, for problem it undoubtedly is. The first step must necessarily be a fuller recognition of the fact that the problem exists. Just as long as we blunder along with our eyes shut to it and fail to benefit by the experience of the United States, so long will it remain unsolved.

Given, however, recognition of the problem, the next concrete step will be the extending of the scope of our educational institutions. I am fully convinced that the education of these people is absolutely essential to their assimilation—education not only in our language but also in our history, customs, ideals, etc.—education not only of the children, but also of the adults—education, not only in our public schools, but in their own halls, club-rooms, boarding houses, etc. All this will tend to counteract the effects which they are having upon our economic and social life.

In order, however, to remedy the political effects, we will need drastic amendments to our present naturalization law. That law, as it now stands, is a farce, requiring as it does only three years' residence and a certificate of good character on the part of an immigrant, irrespective of whether he knows anything of our language, laws, history, political institutions, etc. It means that such a man, having no stake in the country and no knowledge of the issues involved, has the power to nullify your vote and mine at an election. We need an amendment that will require at least five years' residence on the part of the foreign-speaking applicant and a working knowledge of the language of his adopted country.

Another necessary step will be the compulsory registration and licensing of all boarding-houses, so that a qualified inspector may have the right to investigate such houses and enforce laws already on the statute book. Side by side with this there will have to be adequate provision made by the municipalities for housing the industrial workers at a reasonable rental.

And last, but not by any means least, there must be a changed attitude towards these people on the part of Canadians generally. While we are content to leave their Canadianization in the hands of either unscrupulous politicians or the more depraved of their own countrymen, we can never

expect or hope to make them good citizens. We must see to it that they are given the opportunity to come in contact with something which is truly typical of our Canadian life. We must arouse public opinion to the point where it will crystallize itself in concerted action; and I would have you remember that every step you take toward this end, every effort you put forth to make a better and more loyal citizen out of one foreign-speaking person in this city, you are not merely helping to build up a better Hamilton—or a better Ontario—but you are building up what I am firmly convinced is destined to be the greatest nation in the most glorious Empire this world has ever seen.

Canada and the Navy.

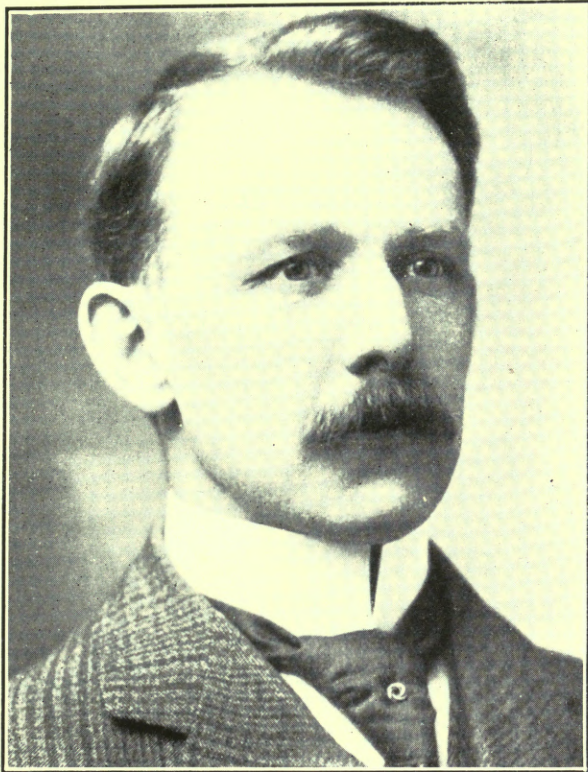
JOHN A. COOPER,

Editor Canadian Courier, Toronto.

(February 27, 1913.)

BEFORE discussing the question of Canada and the Navy or any other problem which involves our relations with the other Britannic peoples, it is necessary and advisable to consider the basic principles of Canadian citizenship. It is absolutely necessary that we should know what we mean when we call ourselves Canadians or Australians or New Zealanders. If we are Canadians we owe allegiance to Canada. Allegiance to Canada also involves allegiance to the Sovereign who rules Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and Canada. It is important that every Canadian should realize and appreciate the twofold aspect of his allegiance—allegiance to his country and allegiance to his King. There are some people in this country who put their allegiance to the King ahead of their allegiance to Canada and who would prefer to see the British Cabinet and the British Parliament absolutely supreme and all other cabinets and parliaments of the Empire subsidiary and subordinate. There is something to be said in favor of this view, but few of us are prepared to see Canada for ever a subordinate and tributary nation. To us it does not seem quite fair that Canada and the other Dominions overseas should not enjoy any less important position in the Empire than that of the United Kingdom when we are prepared to bear our equitable portion of the burden of that Empire.

But there are some of us who go farther, and those who go farther are most Canadians whose ancestors have been here for several generations back. We would like to see Canada's Parliament equal in stature to the Parliament of Great Britain and our Premier equal in standard to the Premier of the United Kingdom. We would like to see the Canadian flag as well known and as highly respected as the flag of the parent state. To-day, Canada's merchant marine stands fifth among the merchant marine of the world, and every Canadian ship carries the Canadian ensign at the stern. When our shipping grows to be second only to that of the United Kingdom we shall be proud to know that the Canadian ensign stands second only to the Union Jack in the shipping circles of the world.



JOHN A. COOPER,
Editor, Canadian Courier, Toronto.

Personally I would go farther than that. I would have the Canadian ensign fly from every flagstaff in Canada. To-day we have the peculiar position that a Canadian may fly a Canadian flag on the water, but he is not permitted to fly it on land. In a dispatch to the Governor-General dated May 21st, 1912, the Rt. Hon. Louis Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, states that the flag of the United Kingdom is the only flag which may be flown on land by Canadians, and that the red ensign with the arms of the Dominion in the fly, is intended to be used only by Canadian merchant vessels. The Canadian Government have issued a pamphlet by Sir Joseph Pope which clearly and frankly tells Canadians that they must not fly the Canadian flag on land. I for one am not prepared to accept the dictum of Mr. Harcourt or Sir Joseph Pope. I believe Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland, all the self-governing dominions, should be allowed to have their own ensign, with a badge of nation in the fly. The Union Jack in the corner of the ensign is sufficient acknowledgment of the fact that the sovereign of the United Kingdom is also Sovereign of the Over-Seas Dominions. The Union Jack in the corner is sufficient acknowledgment that we honor and revere the broad banner of British liberty and that we share in the glories of the flag that for a thousand years has braved the battle and the breeze. The Union flag of Great Britain is composed of St. George's Cross of England, the St. Andrew's Cross of Scotland, and the St. Patrick's Cross of Ireland. I am one of those who would add the national emblem of Canada to the Union flag of Great Britain and show to the world that Canada is a nation, but a nation which stands well within the circle of Britannic nations which make up the British Empire.

We sing the national anthem and we have as much right to say God Save the King as the people of England, Ireland and Scotland, but we have also the right to sing Alexander Muir's well-known chorus:

The Maple Leaf our emblem dear,
The Maple Leaf forever,
God save our King and Heaven bless
The Maple Leaf forever.

Or let us quote the last verse and chorus of the song dedicated to the Canadian Clubs of Canada by the late Dr. W. H. Drummond:

Who can blame them, who can blame us,
If we tell ourselves with pride,
Half a thousand years to tame us
The foe has often tried.
And should e'er the Empire need us,
Still require no chains to lead us,
For we are the Empire's children,
But Canadians over all.

Then line up and try us
Whoever would deny us
The freedom of our birthright,
And they'll find us like a wall,
For we are Canadian, Canadian forever,
Canadian forever, Canadians over all.

Looking back over the history of our last hundred years, there is plenty of evidence that our forefathers intended to be Canadian as well as British. Every move they made in regard to government was in the direction of building up a self-governing, self-contained nation under the British crown. Shortly after the American revolution, Great Britain abandoned the Roman idea of regarding her colonies as estated to be farmed. But it was not abandoned in a day. It took time to work out all the old forms and introduce the new. From 1800 to 1850 there was a long, continuous struggle for self-government in Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It was difficult to get a governor to understand that they must spend no money except with the approval of their executives and with the consent of the legislative assemblies. Sometimes the governor flouted both the executive and the assembly. In other cases, he and his self-chosen executive flouted the assembly. The rebellion of 1837 in both Upper and Lower Canada was but an incident in that struggle. Finally, the assembly got control of the executive and the purse strings, and our present system of responsible government was developed.

At that time the colonies were regarded as mere appendages of Downing Street. Our post office and headquarters and our tariffs were made there. Our crown lands were granted by the officials of Downing Street. But by 1855 we had secured control of all these parts of the government. Each colony controlled its own post office and its own tariff, and administered its own crown domains.

Now came Confederation with a larger grant of self-government and a fair division of these among the various governments. The new Dominion Parliament represented part of the authority of Downing Street and part of the features of government which had previously been in the

hands of the colonial assemblies. Canada became a nation in many respects. Indeed, there were many predictions in England and in Canada that our powers of self-government were so great that independence would follow as a natural course.

Instead of seeking independence, Canada went on peacefully developing her powers of self-government. In 1878, through the exertions of Hon. Edward Blake, Minister of Justice, the powers of the Governor-General were still further limited, and through him the influence of Downing Street. But even then Canada was not satisfied. Our statesmen began to claim the right to be represented in international commissions when Canada's rights were at stake. In 1871, Sir John Macdonald was appointed one of the British representatives at the Washington Commission. In the Halifax Fisheries Arbitration of 1877, the Fisheries Commission of 1887, the Joint High Commission of 1897 and the Alaska Commission of 1903 Canada was directly represented. In the negotiation of new treaties with France, Germany and the United States in recent years Canada has acted directly and with Downing Street aid rather than interference.

Side by side with this great movement towards full national powers, is another movement looking to Canada's taking her share of the defence of the Empire of Confederate states. A country with such rights of self-government as Canada had obtained could not reasonably expect that her army and navy should be supplied by the Mother Country. In 1860 our first Canadian regiment was formed in Montreal, and in 1861 our second regiment in Toronto. Between these dates and 1875 we took over all our land defences except the naval stations at Esquimalt and Halifax. Finally, in 1900, we took over these and emerged as a self-governing and self-defending nation.

There is just the navy question to be settled. We took over the naval stations and coast defences, but we had no ships on the sea. In 1909 the House of Commons discussed the subject and decided theoretically upon a Canadian navy. In pursuance of this Sir Wilfrid Laurier went to an Imperial conference in London and discussed the matter with the representatives of the other Dominions which had passed similar resolutions. He returned and outlined his policy, a naval college for the training of cadets, two training ships, to be purchased from Great Britain, and a programme of naval construction of small vessels. This was to be the beginning of a Canadian navy.

At first Mr. Borden, the leader of the then Opposition, approved of the plan. He made a speech at Halifax practically endorsing what Sir Wilfrid had done. But certain elements within the Conservative party thought this a tactical blunder and threatened that if Mr. Borden did not oppose this policy they would get a new leader. Mr. Borden yielded, and when the matter came up in the House in 1910 he moved a resolution, the last paragraph of which was as follows:

"That in the meantime the immediate duty of Canada and the impending necessities of the Empire can best be discharged and met by placing without delay at the disposal of the Imperial authorities as a free and loyal contribution from the people of Canada, such an amount as may be sufficient to purchase or construct two battleships or armoured cruisers of the latest dreadnought type, giving to the Admiralty full discretion to expend the said sum at such time and for such purposes of naval defence as in their judgment may best serve to increase the united strength of the Empire and thus assure its peace and security."

It will be noted that this resolution contemplated a cash gift of an amount sufficient to purchase or construct two dreadnoughts. The Conservative policy has since been enlarged from two to three dreadnoughts, but has been changed from a cash gift to a gift of battleships which may ultimately come back to Canada.

To go back a little, the Laurier policy went through in 1910 and arrangements were made to commence the building of ships. These arrangements were, however, very meagre, or at least slow in being realized. Tenders were called but never accepted. Then came the reciprocity struggle, which shoved the navy question into the background and finally resulted in putting Mr. Borden into power in September, 1911. In the session of 1912 nothing was done, although the matter was discussed. In the summer, however, the Prime Minister visited England and consulted with the Admiralty. When Parliament reassembled in November, 1912, Mr. Borden announced his three-dreadnought policy.

In the meantime the navy question has been taken up in the country and many editorials written on the subject. The idea of giving "cash" rather than ships came in for much criticism from all classes of citizens, and no doubt this had an effect upon the Government's announcement. Also a number of men in Toronto and Winnipeg decided to present

a memorial to the Government asking that the leaders of the two parties make an attempt to get together and settle the navy question on a non-partisan basis. There was a committee in Winnipeg and a committee in Toronto and the details of the resolution were arranged by telegraph. The final form of the resolution was as follows:

“ We, the undersigned citizens of———, members of both political parties, unite in urgently representing to the Premier and Cabinet of Canada and the Leader of the Opposition:

“ 1. That in our judgment it is the desire of the majority of the people of Canada that the Dominion should forthwith take her part in the naval defence of the Empire.

“ 2. That capacity for self-defence being a necessary incident of nationhood, that Canadian people look forward to equipping itself with all reasonable despatch with the necessary means of defence; and that the permanent policy of the Dominion should look to the establishment of a navy that will be worthy of our national aspirations.

“ 3. That if international relations as disclosed by official information are such as to indicate the existence of an urgent situation, substantial evidence should be given forthwith of Canada's recognition of her responsibilities as part of the Empire; and that the action taken in accordance with this idea should be of such a notable character as to be adequate in the light of the responsibilities of Canada, and of the exigencies of the case, and worthy of Canada's material wealth and prosperity.

“ 4. That the motive animating Canadians is not to promote the military spirit as such, and, in particular, is not to render more acute the tension between Great Britain and any other power; but to show in a practical way their belief that the effective maintenance of the British navy makes for the preservation of the world's peace, and to demonstrate unmistakably the strength of the Overseas' resources which are available for the defence of the Empire.

“ 5. That it is highly desirable that the policy of the Dominion of Canada, both for the moment and permanently, with regard to this matter should not be or become a party question.

“ That without delay an earnest effort should therefore be made by the Government, through friendly consultation with His Majesty's Opposition in Canada, to give to such immediate action and to the Dominion's permanent policy, a form which, securing the adhesion of both parties, may remove

the whole question of Imperial Defence from the domain of contentious politics."

It will be noted that the committee were in favor of (1) an emergency contribution if the Admiralty desired it, and (2) a Canadian naval service along the lines laid down by the Government in 1910. It combined the leading features of the Laurier and Borden proposals. This memorial was signed by about three hundred men, of whom one hundred were from Toronto and fifty from Hamilton. Let me read some of the names: Hon. D. C. Cameron, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba; Sir Redmond Roblin; Sir Daniel McMillan; Sir William Whyte; Sir Joseph Dubue, and other Winnipeg citizens; Sir Edmund Walker, President Canadian Bank of Commerce; Sir William Mackenzie, President Canadian Northern Railway; Sir Wm. Mortimer Clark; Sir Edmund Osler; Hon. Wallace Nesbitt, K.C.; Mr. George H. Gooderham, M.P.P.; Mr. R. S. Gourlay, President Canadian Manufacturers' Association; Hon. Thos. Crawford, Ex-Speaker Ontario Legislature; Mr. Z. A. Lash, K.C.; Mr. D. B. Hanna; Mr. J. W. Flavelle, President William Davies Co.; Mr. J. E. Atkinson, Publisher "Toronto Star"; Mr. W. E. Rundle, General Manager National Trust Co.; Lieut.-Col. George T. Denison; Mr. W. D. Beardmore; His Lordship the Bishop of Toronto; Mr. Æmilius Jarvis; Ven. Archdeacon Cody, D.D.; Senator Geo. A. Cox; Mr. S. J. Moore, President Metropolitan Bank; Mr. Edward Gurney, Gurney Foundry Co., and other Toronto citizens; Mr. Robert Hobson, General Manager and Vice-President of the Steel Company of Canada; Mr. Cyrus A. Birge, President Sovereign Life Assurance Company, Director Bank of Hamilton; Col. the Hon. J. S. Hendrie; Lieut.-Col. George S. Rennie; Mr. R. Hamer, President Canadian Furniture Manufacturers; Mr. George T. Tuckett, Tuckett Tobacco Company; Mr. H. J. Waddie, President Canadian Drawn Steel Company; Mr. S. F. Washington, K.C.; Mr. James Russell, M.D.; Mr. Hugh C. Baker; Mr. H. G. Wright, H. G. Wright & Co.; Lieut.-Col. S. C. Mewburn, and other Hamilton citizens.

Officially there is only one naval policy before the Canadian people, and that is the policy of the Canadian Navy. Mr. Borden does not claim to have formulated a policy. He is making an emergency gift. His permanent policy has yet to be enunciated, and he has promised to announce that policy before the next appeal to the country. Whether that will be a policy of a Canadian Navy or a policy of permanent contribution has yet to be settled.

Mr. Cockshutt, member for Brantford, in his speech in the House advocated a permanent policy of contribution, and some have tried to put the responsibility of that utterance on the Conservative party. That is hardly fair. Indeed, Mr. Cockshutt, in a subsequent speech in Brantford modified his position very materially. So that, I have said, there is still only one policy before the people.

It is my hope and belief that there will never be any other. There is no reason why the two parties should not unite on this portion of our defence policy as they are united on all portions. Everyone agrees that there should be a Canadian militia. The man who serves in it, whether an officer, non-commissioned officer, or private, is agreed to be performing a patriotic duty. Similarly everyone is agreed that there should be fishery protection cruisers on both coasts; that there should be batteries along our shores where an enemy might possibly enter by water; and that there should be garrisons at strategic points, both inland and along the coast. All are agreed likewise that there should be dockyards and protected harbors where the Empire's ships may rest and replenish their stores in safety; and where a battered warship may make temporary repairs.

It is only when we come to naval colleges, training ships, and fleet units that there is any divergence of opinion. Undoubtedly there are those who would prefer to go no farther than we have already done, and who hope that Canada will never have a navy of her own. I do not say that these people are wrong; I must content myself with saying that I cannot agree with their views.

The French-Canadian is to some extent opposed to a Canadian navy. These people are probably under Ecclesiastical influence. The Church in Quebec has everything to gain by having its people live quietly at home. If they were to take to the study of war in any numbers they would get away from the districts where they are easily supervised. Besides the French-Canadian has always been a lover of peace and the quiet fireside. Nevertheless, I believe that ultimately the French-Canadian will realize that the day of universal peace has not yet come and whether they desire to serve or not, they must support and countenance a Canadian fleet which, by upholding Britain's hand and co-operating with the other fleets of the Empire, will help to preserve the peace of the world.

President Poincaré, in taking over the duties of President of the French Republic a few days ago, announced that the

chief duty of the nation was to enlarge its army and its navy in order to insure the peace, safety and prosperity of the French people. With this feeling, continuously and emphatically expressed by the leading statesmen of Great Britain and France, over two great parent countries, there can be few Canadian, English-speaking or French-speaking, who will hold out against the logical result so far as Canada is concerned.

There have been a few people in this country who have shouted against a Canadian fleet. Some of these are Liberals who favor a do-nothing policy, fearing that any move towards a Canadian fleet would be a move towards embroiling Canada in the war of the world. They have refused to accept Sir Wilfrid Laurier's statement that when England is at war Canada is at war. Others again are Conservatives who oppose the Canadian fleet because it was first organized by a Liberal Government, forgetting that it was a result of a unanimous resolution passed by the House of Commons in March, 1909. For these men I have very little sympathy. To my mind they have attempted to steer the Conservatives along a line which can end only in disaster. I am quite convinced that the better sense of the better men of the Conservative party will ultimately prevail and that both parties will unite in supporting a Canadian fleet, built partly in Canada and manned as far as possible by Canadians.

Let me summarize the reasons why I am in favor of a Canadian fleet.

1. In matters of naval defence, as in other Imperial matters, Canada must adopt the same policy as Australia and New Zealand. So long as Canada remains a part of the Empire, our enemies must be their enemies, and their enemies must be ours. Australia is already building a fleet. Within two years it will be in commission. Two or three boats are now afloat. This will be manned, as far as possible, by Australian, and will be stationed in Australian waters. The other day New Zealand's first battle cruiser was inspected by His Majesty at Portsmouth, and the "New Zealand" is now on its first voyage which will carry it around the world. It will return to British waters and there remain, as Mr. Allen, Minister of Defence for New Zealand, stated at Portsmouth in the presence of His Majesty, until the New Zealand has accomplished her plain intention of having a fleet of her own.

A most important statement on this subject by Senator Pearce, Australia's Minister of Defence, was issued in

London two days ago. Mr. Pearce is evidently voicing Australia's dissatisfaction with Canada for not carrying out the arrangements made at the Imperial Conference of 1910. It was then agreed that Canada and Australia should each construct a fleet unit to assist in the patrol of the trade routes. Australia is keeping her part of the agreement, but Canada has changed her mind. Mr. Pearce raises the point as to whether this can reasonably be done without the sanction of another Imperial conference. He states further that the fleet unit scheme was not suggested by Canada and Australia but by the Admiralty, and he thus intimates that in the letter sent by the Admiralty to Canada at Mr. Borden's request, the Admiralty changed its view without consulting with or even notifying Australia. He ends by expressing the hope that Canada, Australia and New Zealand will yet come to an agreement as to this defence policy.

2. Only by having a fleet of her own may Canada put the whole force of her national patriotism into Imperial defence. We would never be proud of a policy of contribution. It is not a policy to cheer for. We must build and man the ships if only to maintain our self-respect. When we wanted Canada represented at the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and at the coronations of King Edward and King George, we did not hire British soldiers to represent us; we sent our own men, drawn from our historic militia, from the Queen's Own and the Thirteenth and the Royal Victoria Rifles and other well-known Canadian regiments, and we sent them with pride. When we wanted to aid the Empire in South Africa, we did not send a letter of credit to the War Office, we sent Canadian horses, Canadian guns and Canadian men. When I stood on the Dufferin Terrace at Quebec on that famous day in October and watched the ship with the first contingent aboard move slowly down the majestic St. Lawrence and disappear around the end of the Island of Orleans, I was moved as I was never moved before. All the letters of credit that were ever penned would fade into insignificance before the spectacle which I saw that day in the City of Quebec. A permanent policy of contribution—it is inconceivable.

3. We can build up a great ship-building industry most easily by using the construction of war vessels as an aid to that industry. By a ship-building industry I mean not only shipyards for the construction of new ships, but repair yards to take care of our merchant ships and war vessels, and all

the necessary adjuncts thereto, such as dry docks and naval stores. Canada has paid too little attention to the ship-building industry since the days when wooden ships went out of fashion. We must get back to that industry. We have the coal and iron and steel and nickle, and if we go about it properly and earnestly we can build as good ships as any in the world

4. Canada stands at present fifth among the nations of the world as the owner of ocean-going vessels. To protect the development of that merchant marine and to maintain the maritime spirit of our people, a Canadian fleet is of prime importance. The one service reflects upon the other and therefore is complimentary to the other. There are Canadian vessels on every ocean and Canadian vessels in every harbor. So there should be Canadian armed cruisers on every ocean, safeguarding our mercantile marine and proclaiming to the whole world that we are a maritime people. We, as much as the people of the England of to-day, are the offspring of Drake, Frobisher, Blake, Nelson and all the great sea rovers who built up Britain's maritime supremacy. Shall we alone of all the British race, because we live in Canada, lose that great inheritance because we are unworthy to maintain it? Shall we, who have built up a new nation in this North American wilderness, we who have connected two oceans with highways and transcontinentals, we who traced out the granary of the Empire, shall we refuse to face the sea and brave its perils? Shall we stand idly on the shore and watch the commerce of the world go by? I have a higher opinion of Canadians than to think that what they have yet accomplished in the mastery of the sea is but a beginning.

On this point I have the support of the London "Times." In an editorial in the "Weekly Times" of Feb. 7th the following paragraphs appear:

"The Australian people are making rapid headway with the naval organization to which they set their hands three years ago. They already have one small cruiser of the most modern type and three destroyers in commission; another cruiser is completing in this country and one is building in Australian yards. They are, moreover, recruiting both officers and seamen at a very satisfactory rate, and they have established a naval college on the Osborne model in order to train their officers as well as their men at home. The course adopted by Australia is undoubtedly recommending itself to an increasing body of opinion elsewhere. Colonel

Allen, the New Zealand Minister of Defence, who visited the New Zealand on Monday, expressed the hope that 'the various parts of the Empire upon the Pacific Seas would put their heads together and make the necessary provisions for Pacific defence. He would never be satisfied,' he said, 'nor would New Zealand, until they had more ships and New Zealanders to man them.'

"Few who look at the naval problem of the Empire with a broad understanding of the political as well as strategical factors which it involves will doubt the value of this widespread desire. The Empire should not rest forever upon naval establishments confined to the British Isles. It is obvious that much might be gained, from a purely strategic standpoint, if ships could be built, equipped, and manned in several different centres of Imperial naval strength. It is equally obvious that such a line of development would call into play both the full resources and the full instinctive patriotism of the five self-governing peoples beneath the flag. As an individual development of naval strength in each Dominion would plant the naval spirit everywhere."

Western Canada and the Empire.

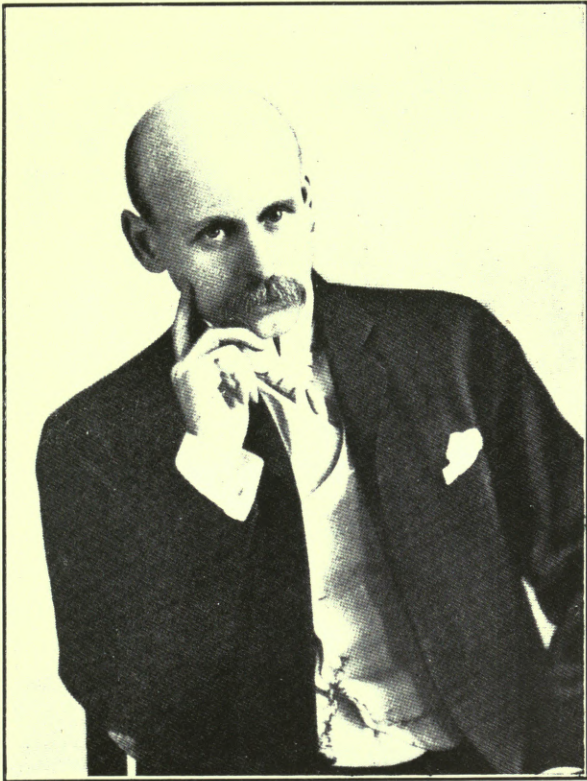
J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F. S. S.,

Editor Canadian Annual Review, Toronto.

(March 13, 1913.)

IT is always a privilege to me to address a Canadian Club, and especially is this the case in Hamilton, where the plan, the ideal, the practice, was originally evolved through the pioneer activities of my old friend, C. R. McCullough. The movement has become a most vital and important one and, from a somewhat close study arising out of my literary and historical work, I can tell you that in the past six years there have been fully one thousand addresses delivered before these organizations in their stretch from Halifax to Vancouver. When you realize that the most of these speeches were uttered by men who were more or less experts, or authorities, in the subjects they dealt with to others who were the financial and commercial bone and sinew of our chief communities, it becomes obvious that the Canadian Clubs have been and are doing a great work and that, if this work continues, the leaders of our Canadian electorate and our local centres should be men of singularly wide information and breadth of view.

Well, sir, it is a very far call from the primeval forests, the pioneer hardships, the dangers and difficulties which the men and women of early days in this eastern part of Canada had to face, and the vast prairies of our Northwest, with their beautiful and bountiful crops, their magnificent resources, their riches in everything that goes to the formation of national wealth, their sunlight and sunshine which are illimitable and, I suppose, unequalled in the world for pleasantness to those who experience them at certain seasons of the year. But in another sense there is some resemblance, at least, between these two classes in the English portion of the making of our Dominion, between the Loyalists who founded this great Province of Ontario and the men who pioneered the pathway of our progress, and still greater future in the vast regions of the Western country. The latter, as I gathered with more keen perception than I ever did before, faced very great difficulties and very great hardships. Particularly should those hardships, or a knowledge of them, appeal to Eastern women. When we



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think of the vast loneliness of the prairies in the scattered settlements and homesteads which were once at much greater distances from each other than they now are, we cannot but feel that it must have been appalling to the women who were called on to face those conditions. I question, indeed, if the loneliness of the forests, which was so formidable to the women in Loyalist days, was as great as is the loneliness on parts of the splendid prairies of the West even to a very recent day. This condition has, however, almost passed away in this time of telephones and motors and railways.

When I had the pleasure of taking my third trip to the Pacific Coast last summer I did so with some faint idea, born of natural egotism which we all have when we study the development of a country very closely, that I knew something of the West. I had been there, it is true, ten years ago, and I have since watched its progress and studied its statistics and admired its development, as we all do; but no man and no woman can really understand what the West means, or what Western progress is, until he or she has been across that country in the immediate present and has breathed the air of optimism and hope, the air of up-building and strengthening, which is on every hand and which is absorbed by the person who goes into the country and becomes a part and parcel of his being when he remains to be a resident of that country.

Even to us at the present moment the West is something which we can hardly appreciate to the full degree. To say that there are some 464,000,000 acres, that 260,000,000 acres are still unexplored and unknown, that 149,000,000 acres are known to be cultivatable to-day and have been surveyed, and that of that 149,000,000 only 16,000,000 acres have been cultivated, conveys some faint idea of what the Northwest may mean in the future. But of that 16,000,000 of cultivated soil there came last year 400,000,000 bushels of wheat and other grains. What will the 149,000,000 acres produce when they are put under a fair measure of cultivation and are brought into the swing of the full development of our future Dominion?

A scientific student of agriculture addressed the British Association when it met in Winnipeg two or three years ago. He stated, with a knowledge of the agricultural resources and possibilities and developments of the important countries of the world, that he believed the possible agricultural development of the Northwest of Canada was 5,000,000,000

bushels of grain. Not long before that the Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Saskatchewan had made a similar estimate of 4,500,000,000 bushels, but it was rather seouted in some quarters and thought to be a greatly exaggerated estimate. If, however, the production of 400,000,000 to-day brings to this country what it does in wealth and strength—a total of \$209,000,000—what will not the future development of the Northwest mean to us all? What it means to us in the future, sir, it means to those people there in the present to a degree which we can hardly appreciate and understand. It is the excuse for their optimism, it is the excuse for their belief in themselves, it is the excuse for their demand for more and more money, it is the excuse even, sir, for subdivisions!

You cannot go through Winnipeg and be driven, as I had the privilege of being driven, all around and about the country in the neighborhood of it, and go in the same way to Edmonton, to Calgary, to Regina, to Saskatoon, to all those marvellous cities and outgrowths of a new civilization and a new greatness in a national sense; you cannot visit those cities, see the country around them, grasp the possibilities of growth and development associated with those centres, without understanding, I think, in a very great measure the pride and faith which the people have in their country, and the tremendous future that country has before it. If there are any men here interested in the financial condition of the West, let me say that I returned from that visit profoundly impressed with the fact that we must back those people up in their optimism, that while we may not accept this partieuclar loeal estimate or that partieuclar loeal estimate, we can accept in the main the general view of the people of each individual city that they are bound to have a great future before them, and in doing this the man or woman who has a little money to invest, or much money to invest, and who invests it with adequate care and with the feeling that he or she can wait a while for returns, that person is absolutely certain, I think, subject to the ordinary mutations of life, to obtain an adequate return.

I studied, sir, so far as one could, the sub-division question with its curious basis in fact and its oecasional fabric of fraud. Let me give you a very brief and passing idea of what it is that the individual people in any partieuclar city build upon. I do not refer, of course, to the myriad smaller towns which are growing up, some of which may and some of which may not become of importance, but to the estab-

lished, recognized centres of development in the West. Take, for instance, Winnipeg. In 1900 there was an inspection of wheat passing through Winnipeg of 12,000,000 bushels. Last year the inspection of wheat passing through Winnipeg was 143,000,000 bushels; and the city had, meanwhile, grown from a small centre of wheat export to the greatest wheat centre upon the American continent. In the same city ten years ago or so they had an output of manufacturing establishments of \$8,000,000, and nobody thought there ever would be much manufacturing development. To-day they have an output of \$39,000,000. Their clearings through the banks, indicating the total volume of business, was \$100,000,000 ten years ago; to-day it is \$1,500,000,000. Well now, take a city like that, spreading out upon the prairies, the gateway to the vast West, with the grain of that country pouring through it, with the great Canadian Pacific Railway shops and the Canadian Northern shops building up at Transcona, what is practically a town within a few years, and Winnipeg itself reaching out to join that place which four years ago was a vacant spot on the bare prairie. Why shouldn't those people be optimistic and hopeful and why shouldn't they feel that Winnipeg will be what it is bound to be, one of the great cities of the American continent? Why, too, should not land values advance and fortunes be won or lost?

Take Edmonton, again, where in 1901 the assessment of the city was \$1,000,000, and in 1911 it was \$123,000,000, and where the population grew in the same period from 2,650 to 53,000. Edmonton is a place which has a splendidly fertile environment, great beauty of situation, abundant water, the rich country of the Peace River back of it, everything that goes to make a great city. There can be no question of the greatness of Edmonton in the future. Look at Calgary, with a population growing in eight years from ten to sixty thousand and building permits from \$880,000 to \$20,000,000 in the same period and assessments from \$4,000,000 to \$112,000,000! Look at its rich surrounding country, its wonderful expansion typified by the C.P.R. shops five miles out, and the city rushing to meet them almost before construction is completed, its beautiful scenery and proximity to the Rockies.

Then visit Regina, the city of sunshine and hope, with its assessment of \$979,000 in 1901 and \$34,800,000 ten years later, its population of 2,645 and increase in the same period to 30,000, its bank clearing of 75 millions in 1911 and 115

millions in 1912; Saskatoon, the marvellous, with its vast area of tributary agricultural wealth; its building record of \$377,000 in 1907 and over \$5,000,000 in 1911 its increase in assessment during the same period from 2½ millions to 23 millions, its growth of population from 113 in 1903 to 27,000 in 1912; then look at Moose Jaw, the centre of striking development and prosperity with its wonderful wheat country, its growth of population in a few years to 25,000, its tremendous building activities and its estimated assessment for 1912 of \$52,000,000. And then cross the Rocky Mountains and come to Vancouver, which is bound to be one of the great seaports and commercial centres of the world with its building permits of \$7,250,000 in 1909 and \$17,652,000 in 1911, its bank clearings of 246 millions and 543 millions respectively; and go over the Bay to Victoria, which is rapidly becoming one of the great residential centres of the continent with, already, a record of bank clearings in 1909 of 70 millions and in 1911 of 135 millions and building permits increasing from \$1,677,000 to \$4,026,000—back of it and around it all the immense possibilities and rapid development of Vancouver Island.

And what does all this mean? There is first of all the financial side. Into the West of Canada is pouring \$100,000,000 a year for investment in farm improvements, money which is absolutely safe so far as money can be safe in this world of change. One Winnipeg manager of a big land company showed me a statement which was going into the annual report of his company in a few days to the effect that \$7,000,000 had come to their concern from Holland during the past year for that particular purpose. Into the cities is pouring and is required absolutely from year to year, something in the neighborhood of another \$100,000,000 for new buildings. There we find two hundred millions a year required at the present time for the West which must be obtained somewhere, and which are obtained partly from the eastern portion of Canada, a portion from foreign countries, but mainly from Great Britain.

I had the pleasure while I was in the different cities of the West of speaking to their Canadian Clubs, and I tried to present to them, and through them to the people, who were able to take cognizance of the views expressed in the press, an idea of Empire and the relation of the West to the Empire, which seemed to be a little new to some of those who heard me. It is a thought which I want to express to

you to-night, in a different way, perhaps, because it is vital to us in Eastern Canada to know what the view of the West may be in the future as well as what it is now. At the present moment the view of the West is imperfectly expressed in political elections and through political parties and in itself is somewhat chaotic; it is imperfectly expressed because the opinion is that of people who are themselves in the process of making. There are, of course, many foreigners from Continental Europe, as you know. There are many more of them, a very large proportion in Saskatchewan and Alberta, who have come from the United States, people of high intelligence and good principles, people who have come to this country to make it their home, people who know something about the United States and settlers in whom I, for one, have the greatest confidence as possessing all the elements of splendid Canadians of the future. But they are not quite so yet, and the question is what can be made to appeal to these people along the lines of Empire, so as to make them realize that in being Canadians they should also be progressive Imperial citizens.

My view, if I may express it, is this: The average American in the West is there primarily to better himself. He is staying there because he has improved himself, and because he sees the great future before that country. He is going to become a Canadian in the sense of being a local citizen because he finds the laws are good, that they are better enforced and that there is, perhaps, more respect for them, than was the case in the community which he left. So far so good. These things will make him, or his children, good Canadians, but they alone will not make him an Imperialist or a good British subject. I refer specially, of course, to the American, because the average American, whether he is living in Canada or the United States, has little regard for Great Britain, no regard for British greatness, British traditions, British history, or many of the things which most Canadians in the eastern part of the Dominion look upon with more or less pride. But, eliminating Great Britain from consideration except as a great part of a great whole, he may be brought in the course of time and by process of education to look with pride upon a broad picture of Imperial power, of a vast Empire in which he, speaking, acting, voting as a Canadian, takes a share and holds a legitimate and powerful part. The right way to appeal to the American citizen in the West, I think, is this: You are

big men naturally; you are big in your intelligence; you are big in your views; you are big in your faith in the West; you are big in the country which you possess.

We Canadians, who have been in this country longer than you, want you to join with us in a still wider and bigger outlook and become Empire citizens; not Britishers in the American sense of that word; but in a greater sense, special to Canada and special to all the outer Dominions of the British Empire. That idea and that ideal can be made to appeal to him, and upon the top of that and building upon the fabric of pride in the Empire as a great factor in Canadian progress, as a great element in the preservation of the peace of nations, as a great influence in promoting a better civilization and life, as a powerful factor in the government of the whole world can be added a knowledge of and a belief in the close and closer unity of the Empire as a practical, useful, substantial factor in the individual betterment of every man, woman and child in the country. Given these conditions and your American citizen is turned into not only a good Canadian, but a good British subject. (Hear, hear.) It is only upon that general line, I think, that Imperialism can be made popular in the course of time in our great West.

Now, what are the factors of Empire greatness or unity that will distinctly appeal to the American-Canadian in the West? There is not a shadow of a doubt, of course, that a British preferential duty upon wheat, upon grains of different kinds, upon all the products that the Western farmer grows, would be appreciated. If and when a change of policy takes place in Great Britain and a preferential tariff is established there, and the American farmer in the Canadian West gets a 10 or 15 per cent. preference in the British market over his American competitor in the United States, he will understand from a practical viewpoint one substantial benefit of British citizenship. He already understands, or will do so, the very substantial benefit of British citizenship in the matter of law and order. The Americans one meets in the West, in the cities at least, are generous in the expression of opinion that Canada has a better administered law, a greater respect for the law, and more order in the general management and life of the country, than they have experienced in the United States. (Hear, hear.)

Then you come to the third point in this possibility of development, and it is the burning subject of the day—the question of Defence. The question of defence, to my mind,

rests upon two substantial bases so far as Canadians are concerned. The first one, and the one that appeals to so many of us in Ontario and the older Provinces, is the element of gratitude, appreciation, knowledge of what Britain has done for Canadians, and of what British connection has meant for them in the myriad phases of their general development and individual life. We all appreciate the outstanding factors of tradition, of a great and glorious history, of sentiment as applied to our fellow-subjects in the British Isles, of pride in their greatness and pride in our own greatness as a part of the Empire, of faith in our people in other countries of the world as well as in the United Kingdom, and so on. Those of us who have studied the history of the Empire know, for instance, perhaps not to the full degree, that in the matter of defence Great Britain has expended a great deal in the past century upon Canada.

I am afraid that very few understand quite how much she has expended. I had to look into this matter several years ago before the subject became a vital issue with the Canadian people. I obtained particulars from the British War Office, all the particulars they could afford me, covering a certain period of years, of the expenditure by the War Office upon defence in Canada. Those figures enabled me to estimate, and they were spread over the whole century and were made to include the cost of the acquisition of Canada in connection with the French wars in North America ending in Wolfe's victory at Quebec, the defence of Canada in connection with the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, the various times upon which large numbers of British troops have been kept in or sent to Canada, as in the Trent affair—these figures enabled me to estimate, and upon grounds that I am absolutely certain of and am quite prepared to prove so far as any estimate can be proved, that the acquisition and defence of Canada has cost the British tax-payer up to date \$1,200,000,000! The figures are so large as to be astounding, and they are unfortunately not known to the great bulk of our people; I hope they will be.

Well, we in Eastern Canada, in our Eastern Provinces can appreciate that point of view and that argument, an argument and point of view based upon what Great Britain has done for Canada in the matter of defence, and, therefore, what we ought to do at any critical period in the Empire's history in the way of helping Great Britain; but that argument and those facts do not appeal particularly

to the new settlers in the West. What then will do so ? I think it is a fact, in the first place, that the British Empire means—so far as a world-wide power can compel the acceptance of a policy in diplomatic and other directions—that the British Empire means peace. (Applause.) That is the first thing that will appeal to the Westerner. Why? Peace means everything to him. Peace means, so long as the British flag is able to enforce it upon the seas of the world, that his products, no matter whether they are four hundred million bushels or five thousand million bushels, can cross the seas of the world to every point where they may be required and to which they can be exported, (hear, hear) in absolute safety and immunity from danger and with a minimum of cost in the way of insurance and other charges. That is one vital point which appeals to him.

Then there is a further and even greater point—especially to the American. He has, and rightly has, a regard for the country that he has left. He believes in the greatness of the United States. It will take time for him to understand that the British Empire is in certain respects greater, but that also will come. He will finally grasp this: that the power of a world-wide Empire, with a world-wide naval supremacy, with great Dominions such as Canada growing into strong nations and surrounding the Mother Country with a circle of power, a circle of naval supremacy and greatness, will make that country and the Empire in days to come absolutely invulnerable; (hear, hear) that this will mean, also, alliance, peace, friendship, between the United States and the Imperial power of which he is now a subject. He will see that the greatness of the British Empire in its historic and natural love for peace will mean additional security in the way of peace and safety to the great Republic from which he has sprung; and the combination of the two will in the end help to ensure the American-Canadian citizen becoming a loyal, strong, pronounced citizen of Canada and of the Empire to which he belongs.

There are many other lines of thought in connection with such a subject. Has the average man or woman ever thought that since Confederation the Canadian trade passing over the seas of the world, more than sixty thousand million dollars worth, has passed across those waters without a shadow of fear, without any danger, in absolute safety, because the ships flew the British flag and had the safety and protection of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) For these and other reasons, though the Westerner may not appreciate

the details of our party politics, though he may not understand the difficulties with Germany or with any other power, though he may not see why we need such a mighty naval force in the North Sea, or why we send battleships to the Mediterranean; he will yet grasp the central fact that Britain's greatest interest with its 6,000 million of commerce a year is peace, that British sea supremacy means peace, that this peace and power will be accompanied by close friendship between Great Britain and the United States, and that the combined friendship of the two nations means the better security of his own interests and his own life upon the plains of the West.

Now, just a word, in closing, upon the German question itself. I feel, sir, that Germany is a magnificent nation, that it has shown splendid capacity in development, in government and in national progress, that it has won the greatest position upon the Continent of Europe by qualities and in a way which merit the pride of its people in the thought and work of its statesmen. I believe that Germany has a perfect right to expand wherever she can obtain the opportunity, or wherever she can force the hands of other nations to allow her people better opportunities for trade and wider possibilities in the way of territory and of general emigration and the like; but if Germany has that right, as she unquestionably has, the only rival power of Germany in the world to-day, the only power which Germany has seriously to compete with in that growth and in that development, has an equal right—the inherent right of all peoples and of all nations and of all individuals—to hold its own and to guard its territories and interests as against the policy or actions of another power, no matter how right that power may be from its own national standpoint in striving for supremacy or a place in the sea. (Hear, hear.)

Germany stands in the unique position, since the days of Napoleon, of absolutely dominating Europe. Her 5,000,000 trained soldiers at the beck and call of the wise statesman who is the ruler of that country, hold the balance of power, absolutely, on the Continent of Europe. If she says to France in diplomatic language, "Do such and such a thing," France has to do it or accept public humiliation or war. If she says to Russia or Austria or any other country on the Continent of Europe, "such and such a policy must be followed; I want it done," that policy has to be carried out unless Great Britain intervenes or war follows. Great Britain never intervenes in these things on the Continent

of Europe, in the matter of diplomacy, unless it is for specific reasons: (1) that her own interests are concerned, or (2) that there is some outstanding, gross injustice about to be done to one of the weaker people of Europe, or (3) that an established treaty is to be broken. When she does intervene in any of those directions her intervention is usually effective. Why? Not because she has an army. God knows her 200,000 soldiers, facing the 5,000,000 of the Kaiser, would be a plaything in his hands; but because she has such enormous wealth and resources, backed by the mightiest fleet in the world. No European power can touch the British Empire while that fleet guards the shores of the United Kingdom and maintains absolute supremacy in the North Sea or at any other vital point.

Hence the fact that defence in the case of Great Britain is not defiance, that defence in the case of our Empire is not militarism, that defence in the case of British countries is not an infringement of the ideal of peace parties, or peace individuals, but is an exemplification and embodiment of an essential basis for peace in the world under present conditions. (Applause.) Imagine the position in which Germany would stand with an army of 5,000,000 trained soldiers and a navy that swept the seas. Imagine Great Britain meeting that power in a diplomatic contest with the final testing trial of "You do what I want to do or fight." Where would we be under such conditions? The navy is the life and death of Britain, of British commerce, of the British financial system which is behind the financial progress of the world. It is a matter of life and death to British financial credit and commerce to maintain the supremacy of the seas and to prevent any power from being able to pour its millions of soldiers upon British soil or menace by its millions of soldiers the peoples who own allegiance to the British Crown in many parts of the world; and who own that allegiance with the possession, at the same time, of the richest territories in the world—waiting the exploitation of any nation that can take them away from Great Britain. (Applause.)

These facts can be made to appeal to Canadians whether they be of American or of any other extraction, and the facts, if adequately presented, will prevail as strongly throughout the Dominion as does the general feeling that it is a good thing to be a Canadian from the Canadian standpoint, a good thing to be a Canadian because we have a fine soil and climate and a fine country. It is and has been a

serious injury to the United States that they have not been able to retain, as we have, their connection with other great communities in other parts of the world, illuminating the different political structures of these communities with a knowledge of each others' affairs, of each others' developments; giving to each an intimate acquaintance with political and social conditions in the other countries. This condition the people of the United States have never had, and its absence, as a natural consequence, has helped to develop stagnation in public life, corruption, too often, in public administration, and unrest in the political and national opinion of what is, despite such evils, a great country and a splendid people.

In conclusion, let me say a word as to naval policy at Ottawa. Personally my view, and the view I ventured to express in the West, was this: Give a contribution, make it as big as we can afford to make it. I suggested figures as high as \$50,000,000. Let us do our duty in the present emergency, recognize the difficulties of Great Britain, help to voice the feelings of Canada that we ought to join in what is a war of construction to avert a war of reality, help with earnestness at the present juncture and help in a way which our history, and our reputation, and our standing warrant. Then, afterwards it may be, build or establish in the Pacific a powerful Canadian fleet, joining with Australia, New Zealand, the Malay Straits and Hong Kong and India in keeping the entire Pacific absolutely safe for the British Empire; make the Pacific what the Atlantic has long been, a British lake, and ensure absolute safety for the transportation of our trade and our people across that great ocean; make certain, so far as we can, and for all time to come, close and intimate relations with the great nations that are growing up in Australasia and with the people that are developing elsewhere in the Empire.

Finally, sir, let me thank you all for your very kind attention. One feels sometimes these issues, perhaps, more strongly than can be expressed, and I have often thought it a pity that Canadians who own the proud possession which we hold as descendants of the people who not only founded this nation but other nations all over the world, and who constructed and are still building this mighty fabric of Empire—that Canadians, individually, have not done more to develop and accentuate the feeling of British loyalty in our Dominion, and that some few of them, even, are renegade to the faith of their fathers and look forward to a

future which involves separation from the British realms. I hope that the good work of Canadian culture which you are carrying on in this and other Canadian Clubs will spread yet more widely through the country and that you will live to see embodied in the history of the world a condition for Canada which will involve partnership between these great young nations and the great old nation which has so long sheltered in the folds of its flag and has done so much for their development and their greatness; and that in doing so you will get away from a position which has been described in language of power by a Western poet (R. C. J. Stead) from something that I think a good many Canadians feel at the present time, but that I hope the Canadian of the future will never have cause to feel:

Many the winds that rise and fall to the flag that ye call your own,
And ye walk secure to the ends of the earth wherever that flag is
flown.

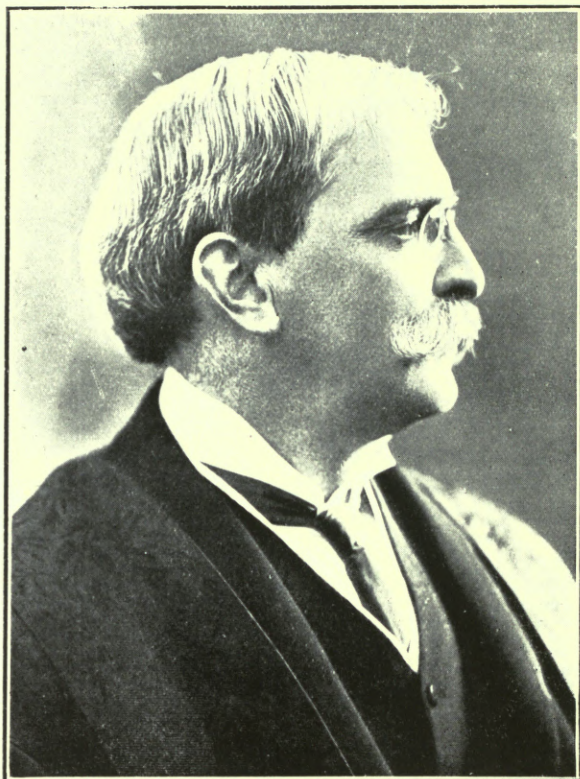
Safe as a child in its mother's arms ye come and ye go at will,
And ye take it all for granted—and your Mother pays the bill.

Truly ye come of a nation, sired of an unwhipped breed,
Girding yourself with vigor, virile in thought and deed,
Tracking the trackless future—making its hopes your own,
As ye reap the fruit—the peace and power—the Motherland hath
sown.

Truly ye love your Mother—never more loyal word
Than boast ye make of Britain by British ears was heard—
Valiant are ye, and haughty, mighty in speech and song,
But ye turn your eyes to Heaven when the hat is passed along.

Ye give of your blood on occasion—and royal and clean the gift—
But ye know the load is heavy and ye do not stoop to lift,
But hers is all the burden, and yours is all the shame—
The Charity-ward of the Empire, a nation only in name.

Is't well to boast of Empire and brag of Britain's might;
Is't well to sing of her soldiers or hurry them to the fight;
Is't well to raise your anthem for the King upon the throne,
While ye leave the Mother Country to bear the load alone?



WILLIAM PETERSON, M. A., LL. D., C. M. G.,
Principal McGill University, Montreal.

Universities' Night.

W. PETERSON, C. M. G., M. A., L. L. D.,

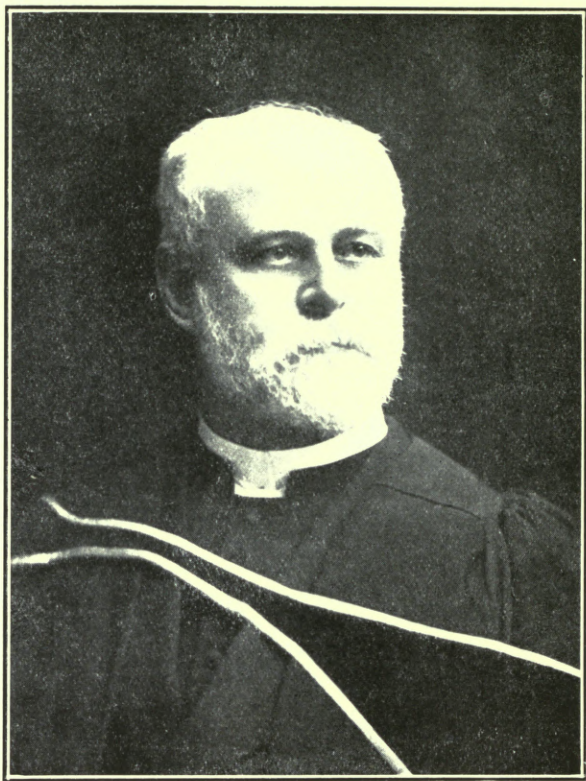
Principal McGill University, Montreal.

MARCH 31, 1913.

I MUST thank you for the honor you have conferred on me in asking me to address this meeting to-night. I am always at home with Canadian Clubs. To address them has become a second nature with me. There is a very firm link between Canadian Clubs and Canadian universities; the Canadian Clubs giving a channel of communication and issuing forth to a much wider world. I am glad to-night to be with the Canadian Club that boasts of the largest membership and also to be with the founder of this most important organization, Mr. C. R. McCullough. When you ask a professor to come and talk, you should prescribe a text as we are accustomed to have a solemn hour to ourselves. I am asked first because you look for wisdom in the east. You get it in Toronto, you get it in Kingston, but if you want to get it in its unadulterated form, you must go still farther east. I believe the Canadian Clubs to be the greatest federating agencies in the world, inviting, as they do, speakers from all spheres of life, from the politician upward, and presenting an outlet for men with ideas and ideals to the world at large. On the subject of Canadian Universities I might say a great deal, but though I am the first speaker, I am by no means the only speaker on to-night's programme. The universities of Canada can and are uniting all classes, kinds and manners of Canadian people into one great brotherhood. I am under the reproach of not having been born in Canada, but for the past seventeen years I have been endeavoring to wipe out that reproach. Some are born in Canada; others have Canada thrust upon them. I am among the others. Despite that accident of birth, I nevertheless put Canada first. When I visited my old home in Edinburgh I feel a burst of pride and patriotism, but when I return I feel a new and greater pride and patriotism. My prayer is that Canada may go forward with the other component parts of the Empire. I want to say a word about our aspect and how universities will help in the work. A highly organized university is one of the greatest assets a nation can possess, though the success of all university departments must rest on the foundations

acquired by the student in his youth. In reference to our university departments, let me call your attention to that of sociology, one of the most important. This department is every day becoming more widely known. Universities, you know, are not so academic after all. They are very closely linked with ordinary every-day existence. Perhaps you don't realize that what you call idealism is afterwards very often found to be sound common sense, and I am proud of what my colleagues have done toward the betterment of social conditions. Canada has set about, not only to build up a large army, but to improve and add to her universities, and I rejoice in the greater prosperity of this country. I know of no other occupation, no other sphere, that offers such grand opportunities as does that of professor or principal in an university. Look at what is taking place in the great country to the south of us. A professor steps up and becomes president, and a president steps down and becomes a professor. No profession gives the same opportunities for coming in touch with the great questions of life as the professor of a great university. He has an opportunity for learning the great factors of life. How is it that the universities can help in the building up of a Canadian nationalism and Canadian ideals? Our patriotism is strong, but we want to improve our intellectual qualities—the arts and sciences. A distinguished English author said to me that this country smacks of counting houses and screeching locomotives. I said, "Give us time; we are working." In addition, the corrective that should be applied is more of that idealism. There ought to be a larger scholar class. We need an idealism, an idealism that should be fostered in the young. Whatever career you may choose, cultivate a reverence for great men and great ideals. I have no patience with the youth who says, "I take off my hat to no man." What a great joy it is to have the various forms of patriotism that Canadians enjoy—our national and our imperial patriotism. Let me say that I am not ashamed of that patriotism to the Mother Land which protected us in the days of our upbuilding. They tell us in reference to the navy question that we shall have no share in the navy should we give our ships and men to the Mother Country; that they will take our ships and our money, but that they will not give us our share in the control. This, I believe, is a libel on all true Britishers.

What the university must do is the building up of a Canadian patriotism. What the universities are thinking to-day, the nation will be thinking to-morrow. The uni-



VERY REV. DANIEL M. GORDON, M. A., D. D.,
Principal Queen's University, Kingston.

versities have fixed their thoughts high and must give a good account, sending out as they do, men of exceptional ability and training. I thank you, Mr. President and members of the Canadian Club, for giving me this opportunity of addressing you.

VERY REV. DANIEL M. GORDON, M. A., D. D.

Principal Queen's University, Kingston.

I thank you very cordially for this opportunity of being present. I am no stranger in your community and I congratulate Hamiltonians on their increasing prosperity, a prosperity apparent on every hand, especially so in the Canadian Club of this city. I am glad to know that we have with us to-night the father of Canadian Clubs—Mr. C. R. McCullough. When the previous speaker (Mr. Paterson) referred to to-night's meeting as a good hand in clubs, he might have styled Mr. McCullough the "king of clubs." One does not wonder at the success of Canadian Clubs when one considers that they discuss, not only local matter, but questions of greater importance. Members of this club recognize that the universities are accomplishing a great national task. There is no room for anything but the best of feeling between the great universities, and those at the head join in the determination that they should do all in their power to unite the forces. We must all unite the forces of the several universities for our country demands all we can give. What are the universities doing. There are some present who may think of the universities as side issues; that the university men are unpractical, almost like specimens in a museum, or in the same light as the Englishman who was surprised to find that our senators were actually alive. They have their purpose, their functions to fulfil, and they strive to render certain kinds of service. One might not be unfair to other agencies in saying that universities try to make men, and therefore tend to improve Canadian citizenship. The university strives to make its students partake of the best thoughts of the best thinkers of our race. It may require a great deal of time and energy and some may ask to what purpose this waste. But he who studies knows it is not waste. The universities are the greatest agencies in our country in the making of men. Our motto is: "What can we know that is worth knowing,

and then how can we apply that knowledge? " This is our great object. We are, of course, also trying to enable the student to partake of the intellectual treasures that have come down to us through the ages. To partake of these treasures all who have tasted will acknowledge is not to have wasted time.

The university tries to make its students partakers, not only of the past, but of the present. Of course, in trying to make him familiar with the world around him, the student delves into matters that have no immediate material rewards. There is lots of research that yields no immediate reward. Who, for example, among those early students would have thought that the study of load-stones would have led to the discovery of the compass. From the study of amber men have discovered the electricity that connects our continents and sends an electric current around the world. Did Watt, in his investigations of the effect of steam in a kettle ask himself what he would get out of it. Science does advance the material gain on a country, so the student must rise above the material and must go forward simply with the love of truth and a desire for further knowledge. The university tries to foster the spirit that they should love wisdom for its own worth and truth for its own worth. We are apt to lose sight of the possible end, blinded by the apparent means. Applied science does not ask for gain, neither do its true disciples look for it. Gain is merely a by-product of success. The good done the world and humanity is the great gain. The applied science student endeavors to see things, not as they seem, but as they really are. This is the spirit the universities are trying to create and foster. To see things as they are, or, in other words, to see things after God, as He meant them to be seen. We are not merely trying to impart knowledge to the man, the student, but to develop him, to start him on his own original explorations.

The university stands for the training of men in various professions, so that when others have blazed the trail so remember that the man comes before the profession. This is a day of specialization. The university specializes, but the student requires a broad knowledge or otherwise he would become a mere corkscrew.

I know no agency that more successfully cultivates a loftiness of spirit. There is no better training school and the university endeavors to prepare the student for the full responsibilities of citizenship to think of the things unseen. If a university student is looking forward to the practice of law, he thinks of it as the sifting of right and wrong, the



R. A. FALCONER, C. M. G., M. A., LL. D., D. Litt.
President The University of Toronto, Toronto.

maintenance of justice; the minister does not think of the big city church; the medical men think of men like Lister and Simpson, and the man in journalism will use his power for moulding public opinion. The man in commercial life still ennoble that purpose in using his money in lofty aims. It is loftiness of purpose to be worthy later on of university and country.

Our universities are modelled more after the Scotch than English ideals. The Canadian people and universities are democratic, and throw open their doors to all. University students in Canada must win their positions. They, more than any others, measure themselves by what they are, rather than what they have been. Doesn't this tend to human brotherhood?

What does society need? Some power to bridge the gulfs and chasms that divide man from man—rich from poor, master from man, educated from ignorant. Who is going to bridge these gulfs? University men, if true to ideals, will accomplish this. You can always get at the poor, and the rich need missionaries as much as the poor. This function may be discharged by university men as the bridge builders of the democracy.

There are some who come but are unable to take advantage of the privileges of an university education. Misfits creep into all institutions, but those who do come and become partakers of the ideals—these will become the pillars of society. The ideals of earlier years may seem to hang behind us when we rest, but when we move forward these ideals are our guiding stars.

ROBERT A. FALCONER, C. M. G., M. A., LL. D., D. Lit.

President University of Toronto.

I wish to thank the Canadian Club of Hamilton for giving me the opportunity for setting forth what the universities are trying to do. We of the universities believe that it is necessary for us to justify ourselves if we are to gain the confidence of the people, so we thank you for the opportunity of setting before you the ideals of the university. We of the east know something of our own history, of our struggles, where there might have been improvements. We also see the present and look into the future. We see new universities rising up, and fortunately for us in Canada we have the magnificent accomplishments of the universities

to the south of us to guide us. We in this country will strain every effort to show something quite as good. Therefore it is necessary for the people to become acquainted with what the universities stand for. We send forth a larger portion of university men than any other country in the civilized world and our university population will rank very high up with other countries in this regard. I shall speak for only a few minutes. It occurred to me that it might not be inopportune if I were, for a short time, to draw your attention to the importance of the university. During the past year eighty per cent. of our immigrants were drawn from northern Europe, a virile people who must play a big part in the development of western civilization, and in this development the university man must play one of the largest parts. The man studying law must not confine himself to the mere technicalities of the profession, but the Canadian lawyer of the future will be able to take his place alongside the great lawyers who will visit us this summer, men like the lord chancellor of England. We are only at the beginning of what it is possible for the university man to accomplish. The international aspect has always been, and is now, prominent. In old days students visited university after university, and carried with him a certain spirit, and thus a dissemination of wisdom. Not only does the student as he travels bring this new spirit, but the teacher also. Our teachers in universities are men who have been educated outside the province or the country, visiting other lands. He is forced to look at things from another point of view by comparison, and is enabled to teach his countrymen the value of truth as he desires to teach it. The teacher and the ambitious student travels and brings home new ideas. The universities are the centre for the diffusion of truth which knows no boundaries. When a discovery is made in any land this discovery is heralded abroad, and in this way the universities are great factors in bringing the peoples together. You may think our ideals are greater than our work. Of course they are. Universities are, I believe, slowly and surely helping men to recognize that there is a common humanity, and that we will reach our perfection by giving each the toleration that he has convictions as well as I have convictions. It must mean a great deal for a student to leave our universities and meet men in foreign universities doing the work he has dreamed and read of for years.

As one looks back over one's university days, one of the

strongest factors is hero-worship. I think we can remember what a splendid outburst of hero worship we felt for one who put himself at the head of his class.

Each university is trying to set free a certain amount of free metal which will circulate as perfect coin, not only in this country, but throughout the world. We believe that our universities are only at the beginning, and that there is no limit till we limit the mental activities of the Anglo-Saxon race. We aim to enrich the commonwealth of learning which is binding together the countries of civilization. The way is being rapidly paved for a greater and wider civilization.

DR. JAMES PROUT.

I have been complimented in being asked to address this gathering. I have greatly enjoyed this banquet, and although not prepared to speak, will endeavor to say some of the things I would like to say if I was prepared. I have really nothing new to add to the very excellent remarks of those before me. The university to-day aims to turn out the best class of citizens. They seek to turn out a man, a citizen of the highest type, a man trained to careful thinking and instructed in the history and achievements of past generations. I think, judging from the remarks of the preceding speakers, these ideals are being carried out. It sometimes seems a simple ideal, yet it is most difficult to get a mind free from all prejudice. That is the ideal—to set aside old notions and to start anew.

Having removed prejudices, the question is how to proceed with the building up. The answer is "in careful thinking." The science student is guarded against the possibility of going astray. The object is to seek the truth and recognize it. In the course of this training the student comes in contact with the true facts and must acquire this knowledge. I join with the preceding speakers in sounding a note of warning as to the necessity of keeping the moral and intellectual always before us. We are all too liable to neglect these in the pursuit of the material. You know how many addresses have been given in which the resources of the country have been laid before you. We all are proud of it, though we hear so much on this subject that we are prone to forget.

I appreciate this opportunity to place before you the

views of the university. Hitherto people have regarded the professor as a man we might know if we went to a university. That may be the case, but professors are glad to get out and hear what others have to say, as in this way they learn what the relation of the university is to the outside world. I want to thank the members of the Hamilton Canadian Club for the opportunity of appearing before you and enjoying this banquet.

DR. OTTO KLOTZ.

President Canadian Club, Ottawa.

I can say only a few words in bringing greetings from the Canadian Club of Ottawa. We cannot boast of your figures, though we have over eleven hundred members. The idea of the Canadian Club originated in this city, so all honor to Mr. McCullough. The object of the club is to foster patriotism and the study of art, science and literature, however we have taken a wider outlook and have embraced the opportunity of having outside men address us. In Ottawa we have been especially fortunate. During the past year we have had the following, among others, address us: Sir George Reid, Hon. W. Long, Sir George Asquith, Colonel Wood, Hon. Job Hedges, Mr. Morgan Shuster, Hon. James Bryce and Captain Amundsen.

The universities are, or should be, a great element in the making of nationhood. Let me point to the poverty of Prussia at the founding of the University of Berlin in 1810. The influence of the university, you may take as the sub-structure of the foundation of the German empire. It is to be regretted that the classics in the universities, not only in Canada, but elsewhere, are being slowly driven to the wall. One cannot measure character by wealth, and, furthermore, it is the duty of university men to assume more fully the responsibility of citizenship by taking part in civic affairs.

Universities should be a great factor in nation building and it has been pleasing to me to note your idea of holding a special university night, and I wish the Hamilton Canadian Club God speed.

In conclusion let me say that the one word we should all nail to the masthead is the word "sincerity."



JOHN BOYD, Montreal,
Historian of Cartier and his Times.

Sir George Etienne Cartier—His Work for Canada.

JOHN BOYD, F. R. S. C., Montreal

Historian of Cartier and His Times.

(April 25, 1913.)

THE subject of the address which I have the privilege of delivering this evening is "Sir George Etienne Cartier, His Work for Canada."

Let me at the outset, Mr. Chairman, express both on my own behalf and on behalf of the Cartier Centenary Committee, which I have the privilege of representing on this occasion, my deep appreciation of the honor which the executive of your Club has done me in inviting me to deliver an address before this important and historic organization.

This is not the first occasion, Mr. Chairman, I may say, on which I have had the privilege of visiting the City of Hamilton and of enjoying the whole-hearted hospitality of its citizens. It was my privilege last summer to accompany the party of British Manufacturers which visited your city, and no one who was of that party can ever, I am sure, forget the splendid reception which was accorded the visitors and the hospitality which they were recipients during their stay in this city. I recall especially the notable banquet given to the visitors by the citizens of Hamilton and the splendid speech vibrant with the spirit of true Canadianism made on that occasion by Hamilton's "Grand Old Man," Honorable Adam Brown, whom I am delighted to see with us on this occasion. And in regard to that visit let me tell you something, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that may prove gratifying as well as interesting to you. As you are aware the party visited every portion of our great Dominion, from coast to coast. Beginning at the Ancient Capital, we traversed the magnificent Maritime Provinces, we visited the historic province of Quebec, we came to the grand province of Ontario, visiting its principal commercial and industrial centers, we covered the great provinces of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan, we viewed the glories of the Canadian Rockies, and we crossed the fertile hills and valleys of British Columbia until our eyes rested upon the sun-kissed waters of the Pacific. The visitors were deeply impressed by all that they saw during their tour, but what I

want to tell you, citizens of Hamilton, especially, is that many of those prominent business men of Great Britain told me personally, after the tour had been completed, that what had most impressed them of all they had seen, was their visit to Hamilton, its beautiful and commanding situation, the spirit of enterprise displayed by its citizens, and the great opportunities which the city afforded for investment and expansion. I recall one of the leading members of the party telling me that he would much rather prefer investing in real estate in Hamilton than in some of the boom towns which had been visited, and I understand that he has since carried out his intentions.

But gentlemen, during that historic tour there was brought home to me, as a Canadian, the fact that Hamilton enjoyed a distinction higher and greater even than all its wealth, than all its enterprise, than all its material prosperity—that was the distinction of being the place where the Canadian Club movement had its birth. Material prosperity and progress have their importance, but of greater importance to the welfare of a nation are those moral and spiritual forces of which the Canadian Club movement is one of the most vital. When in 1892 my friend, Mr. C. R. McCullough, whom I am pleased to see here this evening, gathered with a few friends in this city and established the first Canadian Club, they inaugurated a movement of the utmost importance to the Dominion, a movement that will forever make the name of Hamilton illustrious in Canadian history. On the tour of the Dominion, to which I have referred, every important center throughout the country was visited, and at every one of them we found a Canadian Club. What a splendid work these organizations or, as they have been well termed, these “universities of the people,” now numbering nearly one hundred, are doing in fostering a spirit of patriotism and in creating that national sentiment which is so essential to Canada’s welfare ! The Canadian Club movement, I have no hesitation in saying, is the most potent force in the development of Canadian nationalism, and the greatest bulwark of true Canadianism that we possess. And by Canadian nationalism let me say, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I mean that nationalism which alone can prevail in this Dominion, a nationalism as broad as the great Dominion itself, a nationalism which admits of no distinction of race, language or creed, but which recognizes that all Canadians, whether English speaking or French speaking, are brethren, mutually interested in the welfare and aggrandisement of our common country. It is a na-

tionalism which demands the complete safeguarding of Canadian autonomy, but which at the same time recognizes that the Dominion as an autonomous state forms in alliance with Great Britain and other autonomous states that great Empire of which they are proud to be a portion. It is in short a true and staunch Canadianism balanced with a sane Imperialism. That gentlemen, is what I understand the Canadian Club movement stands for, and what makes it the force that it is. All honor to Mr. McCullough and those associated with him, who inaugurated such a movement, which is bound to augment in importance and influence as the years pass and to continue as it is to-day to be one of the greatest forces in our national life.

We sometimes hear, less frequently now, I am pleased to say than hitherto, of attacks which are made upon our French-Canadian fellow countrymen by those who think that it would be desirable to have all Canadians of one race and of one language. But those who take such a view apparently fail to realize the great benefit that the Latin temperament has been and the even greater benefit that it will be as a spiritual force in the years to come in the national life of the Dominion, combined, as it will be, with the Anglo-Saxon temperament.

It is only those, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, who have seen the Dominion from ocean to ocean, who can fully realize its true significance, and the greatness of the work of those illustrious men who succeeded in uniting the scattered provinces of British North America into a great Confederation. The basis of that Canadian nationalism to which I have referred, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, is pride in that Dominion and confidence in its glorious future, and it is of one of the great founders of that Dominion, one of its principal architects, one of our great nation builders, that I am privileged to speak this evening, the man of who Sir John A. Macdonald, speaking in the House of Commons on May 23rd, 1873, a few days after his great colleague's death, said :

“ When the political ideas of to-day have disappeared, people will recognize the real merits of Sir George Etienne Cartier, and the great services rendered in working to render justice to all races, and in solving the great problem of Confederation which has obtained such a signal success, I know of no statesman who, filling a public position in Canada, has rendered such services to his country.”

You are all aware, gentlemen, of the great movement which has now been under way for some time, to commem-

orate the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of one of the most illustrious Fathers of Confederation.

When in November, 1910, at a meeting held in Montreal, it was proposed by Mr. E. W. Villeneuve, now president of the Cartier Centenary Committee, that the centenary of Cartier's birth should be appropriately commemorated and that steps should be taken for the erection of a monument to his memory, the proposal was enthusiastically taken up. Since then the movement has assumed not only a national but an Empire scope, and representatives of every portion of the Empire will be present at the commemorative celebration next year. The movement, it may be mentioned, is absolutely non-partisan in character, it being recognized that Cartier's memory is a national possession. The Prime Minister of the Dominion, Right Hon. R. L. Borden; the leader of the Liberal Party, Sir Wilfred Laurier; the Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec, Sir Lomer Gouin; the Prime Ministers of all the Provinces; leading Liberals as well as Conservatives, throughout the Dominion, have united to render homage to the memory of one who did so much for Canada. Thanks to the co-operation and support of the Dominion Government and the Governments of all the Provinces, the erection of a splendid memorial, which will stand on one of the slopes of Mount Royal, and the first stone of which will be laid by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, on September 1st next, is now practically assured. The memorial, the work of the eminent Canadian sculptor, Mr. G. W. Hill, will not only serve to honor and perpetuate Cartier's memory, but will also commemorate the establishment of Confederation, in which he played such a conspicuous part. In addition to the imposing statue of Cartier, the memorial will bear statues representing every one of the nine provinces of the Dominion, the whole symbolical of that United Canada, which was one of Cartier's cherished dreams.

It is in connection with this great movement that I have the privilege of addressing you this evening.

What more appropriate subject, Mr. Chairman, could be found for an address before a Canadian Club, than the career of one of our great nation-builders, of one who helped to lay the foundations of Canadian nationality and of the Dominion's greatness.

It is not my intention, Mr. Chairman, nor would time permit on this occasion, to deal exhaustively with the life and achievements of Sir George Etienne Cartier. That is now engaging my attention in another form, and when the

Memorial History of the Life and Times of George Etienne Cartier shall appear, it will, I trust, be found to be at least an exhaustive review of a great career and of one of the most memorable periods of Canadian history. On this occasion, I shall content myself with reviewing succinctly Cartier's public career and achievements, dwelling chiefly on the lessons of his life with special emphasis upon the great work that he did for Canada in general.

I shall take it for granted, gentlemen, that you are all conversant with the main facts of Cartier's career, from his birth at St. Antoine on the Richelieu River on September 6th, 1814, until his entrance to public life at the age of 34 in 1848, from that date until he became Prime Minister of United Canada in 1858, and from that until his death in 1873, when he held the portfolio of Minister of Militia and Defence in the Dominion Government.

Cartier's public career covered a period of some twenty-five years, that is to say from 1848 to 1873. What fruitful efforts, what herculean labors, what great achievements, what struggles, defeats and triumphs were crowded within the compass of that great career! The period which it covered was one of the most remarkable, if not the most remarkable, in the whole range of Canadian history. It was a period which witnessed many great constitutional changes, many transformations of parties, many fierce political struggles. It saw the beginning and the end of the Union, it marked the long struggle for responsible government, it witnessed the birth of Confederation. It was a period fecund of great events and momentous developments, it was also a period rendered notable by the long succession of great statesmen whose names must forever be illustrious in Canadian history.

During all that period Cartier played an active part and at times occupied a pre-eminent position.

At the beginning of his career, Cartier was a zealous reformer. In his youth like so many other ardent spirits of the time, he came under the influence of Louis Joseph Papineau, when that great French Canadian tribune, with his incomparable eloquence, was thundering against those administrative abuses which were directly responsible for the troubles of the period. Nor was Papineau alone in his opposition to what Cartier described as the action of a minority which sought to dominate the majority and exploit the government in its own interests. Papineau, it should be remembered, had the support of leading English-speaking Canadians, such as the distinguished Wolfred Nelson, afterwards

Mayor of Montreal; in fact it is a noteworthy historical feature that some of the leading figures in the struggle for responsible government in Lower Canada were English-speaking. Cartier's participation in the rising of 1837 was due to the ardor and impetuosity of youth and the sincere convictions he held that the prevailing evils called for drastic measures. His experience convinced him of the folly of an appeal to arms; he realized that the remedy for existing evils must be sought, not through armed resistance to the constituted authorities, but through constitutional agitation and legislative action. He became a staunch supporter of La Fontaine's policy, and one of his earliest campaign speeches was made in advocacy of the principle of ministerial responsibility during the crisis resulting from the resignation of the LaFontaine-Baldwin Government in 1844. In 1848, when Cartier first entered Parliament, the struggle for responsible government, thanks to the efforts of those two great statesmen, Louis Hypolite LaFontaine and Robert Baldwin, whose names will forever be held in the highest honor by all Canadians, had been fought and won. When justice had been secured and existing abuses remedied by the granting of responsible government, Cartier became, and ever afterwards continued to be, one of the warmest supporters and most zealous champions of British institutions, a strong advocate of the maintenance of British connection and a passionate lover of the British flag.

Cartier was the destined successor of La Fontaine in the great work of reconstruction, pacification, and conciliation, and when La Fontaine retired in 1851, and was followed a few years later by that other eminent French-Canadian statesman, Auguste Norbert Morin, Cartier's path to the leadership of his native province was clear. For years he was the undisputed leader; his voice, as has been well said, was the voice of Quebec.

The struggle for responsible government having been won, an era of marked industrial expansion and development followed under the Union. It was an era of railway building, of canal construction, of the establishment of great public works. Cartier, owing to his practical qualities, his great business abilities, his mastery of details, and his administrative capacities, was eminently qualified to obtain a leading position during such a period. He achieved distinction as a reformer, as an able administrator, as a legislator, and as a constructive statesman. His name is attached to some of the most important Acts of a period prolific of important legislation. It is sufficient to mention in this con-

nection such measures as the construction of the Montreal and Portland Railway, the decentralization of the Judiciary, the codification of the civil laws and of civil procedure, the modification of the criminal law, the Municipal Act of Lower Canada, the Act relating to registration offices, the abolition of the seignorial tenure, the choice of Ottawa as the Capital of Canada, the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway and the Victoria Bridge, the organization of the educational system of Lower Canada, the improvement and deepening of the St. Lawrence, the building of canals, the union of the provinces of British North America, the acquisition of the North-West Territories, the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, the establishment of the Province of Manitoba, the admission of British Columbia into Confederation, the establishment of the militia system and the initiation of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

It would not be in accordance with that absolute truth which is demanded of history, to even infer that to Cartier alone is due the credit for the passage of all of these great measures. Many eminent men contributed by their efforts to their achievement. But to Cartier may fairly be adjudged the merit without detracting from the merits of others, of having taken an active part in the achievement of all of these important measures, of having devoted his great energies and abilities to their accomplishment, and of having played a determining part in the achievement of some of them. Some of these measures were of material benefit to the progress of the country. The legal reforms for which Cartier is entitled to sole credit, constitute in themselves a monument to his wise statesmanship. Other measures in which he played such a determining part, such as Confederation, were of the epoch-making character, in connection with Canada's national development and well-being. As an eminent French-Canadian writer, the late Senator Tasse, has well remarked, more than one of these measures would have been sufficient to immortalize Cartier. He was, to use Senator Tasse's words, at one and the same time a legislator, a founder of constitutions, a peaceful conqueror.

The greatest work in which Cartier participated, and in which it is freely acknowledged he played a determining part, was of course the establishment of Confederation. The idea of a union of all the provinces of British North America did not originate with Macdonald, Tupper, Tilley, Brown or the other great Fathers of Confederation. Proposals to that effect had been made long before, and the idea

was one that had arisen in many minds as a desirable consummation and as a remedy for the chaotic conditions which then prevailed. But the idea was one that was heartily supported by Cartier from a very early period, and to the Cartier-Macdonald Government of which he became the head in 1858 as Prime Minister of United Canada must be given the credit of having taken the first practical steps to bring about Confederation. One of the items of that government's programme was the union of the British North American provinces, and soon after the close of the session of 1858, a delegation composed of three members of the Government, Cartier himself, A. T. Galt, and John Rose, went to England to press the matter upon the Imperial Government. A memorandum submitted to the Imperial authorities and signed by Cartier, Galt and Rose, urged the Imperial Government to take steps to have a meeting of delegates from all the British North American provinces to consider the question of Confederation and to report upon it.

Though the steps taken in 1858 had no immediate result, the fact remains that the Government of which Cartier was the head, was the first to take up the question of the union of the British North American provinces, that, as the lamented Thomas D'Arcy McGee remarked in his great speech during the Confederation debate "the first real stage of the success of Confederation, the thing that gave importance to the theory in men's minds, was the memorandum of 1858, signed by Cartier, Galt and Rose. The recommendation in that memorandum" said McGee, "laid dormant until revived by the Constitutional Committee which led to the coalition, which led to the Quebec Conference, which led to the draft of the Constitution now on our table, and which," added McGee with assurance, "will lead, I am fain to believe, to the union of all these provinces,"—an assurance, which was not long afterwards happily fulfilled.

Cartier was the leader of the Quebec wing of the Coalition Ministry. He was a delegate to the Charlottetown Conference, as well as a member of the Quebec Conference. He took a leading part in the Confederation debates, ably defending the measure against the attacks made upon it. With Macdonald, Brown and Galt he was deputed after the scheme had been adopted by the Legislature to go to England to confer with Her Majesty's Government; he was also one of the delegates who sat in Conference from the 4th to the 24th December, 1866, at the Westminster Palace Hotel in London, and at which a series of 69 resolutions, based on those of the Quebec Conference, were finally

passed. The sittings of that famous conference were renewed early in January of 1867, a series of draft bills were drawn up, and revised by the Imperial law officers, a bill was submitted to the Imperial Parliament in February, and on March 29th, under the title of the British North America Act, it received the royal assent. A royal proclamation issued from Windsor Castle on May 22nd, 1867, appointed July 1st, as the date upon which the Act should come into force, and the following first of July witnessed the birth of what the Governor-General, Lord Monck, well designated as "a new nationality."

The men who assembled at Quebec on October 10th, 1864, to devise means for bringing about the union of the British North American provinces, had momentous problems to solve, but they were all men of the most ardent patriotism, of the broadest views, and with a firm determination to carry to a successful issue the great work with which they had been entrusted. How they succeeded in their task we all know. It has been well remarked by one of the biographers of Sir John A. Macdonald that there are three men besides Macdonald who in the establishment of Confederation and in securing the large results which followed from that epoch-making measure, demand special mention. Those men were George Etienne Cartier, Charles Tupper, and Leonard Tilley. Justice demands that George Brown should also be named amongst the great Fathers of Confederation, for without the co-operation of that eminent Liberal statesman it is questionable whether Confederation under the circumstances could have been effected at that time. It was George Brown who made the proposals which rendered the coalition ministry possible, and by sinking all party considerations and personal differences in a grave crisis of his country's history, he performed a signal act of patriotism, which entitles his name to a high place on Canada's roll of honor. It was in fact a striking lesson in patriotism and in devotion to country, to find men like Macdonald and Cartier on the one hand, and Brown on the other, forgetting all past differences and even bitter personal animosities, and sitting at the same council board to devise means by which the public interests might be served at a most critical juncture. Nor, amongst the leading Fathers of Confederation must Sir A. T. Galt be forgotten, for that distinguished statesman was a most zealous advocate of Confederation, holding that unless a union was effected, the provinces would inevitably drift into the United States. During the parliamentary session of 1858 he strongly advocated the federal union of

all the British North American provinces, and as has been justly said, the resolutions which Galt then moved in favor of such a union, entitle him to a high place amongst the promoters of Confederation.

Of the thirty-two statesmen who assembled at Quebec in 1864 and framed the Quebec resolutions which formed the basis of Confederation, but one survives to-day, and the Cartier Centenary movement has the privilege of having that great statesman whose name will forever be linked with the names of Macdonald and Cartier, as its patron. Still hale and hearty in his 92nd year, Sir Charles Tupper enjoys the veneration and esteem of all Canadians. It has been justly said by Sir John A. Macdonald's biographer, that in the "reconcilliation of Nova Scotia to Confederation; in carrying out a great expensive and hazardous railway policy; in the establishment of a national fiscal system; in making Canadian expansion compatible with complete allegiance to the Empire, the aid which Macdonald received from Sir Charles Tupper can scarcely be exaggerated. In him great natural ability and power as a platform speaker were united with a splendid optimism about his country, a courage that feared nothing, and a resoluteness of purpose which despised any obstacles with which he could be confronted.

It is not minimizing the services of any of the other illustrious Fathers of Confederation, to say that Cartier played a leading, in fact a determining part, in the achievement of that measure. His great colleagues have generously testified to the pre-eminent services which he rendered at that time.

"Cartier was as bold as a lion. He was just the man I wanted; but for him Confederation could not have been carried," was the emphatic declaration made by Sir John A. Macdonald on the day when he unveiled the statue of his great colleague at Ottawa.

Sir Charles Tupper's tribute is equally eloquent and emphatic. "I have no hesitation," he says, "in saying that without Cartier there would have been no Confederation, and therefore Canada owes him a debt that can never be repaid."

Dr. Parkin in his life of Sir John A. Macdonald, in the "Makers of Canada" series, also pays a just tribute to Cartier for his work in connection with Confederation, when he says: "Without Cartier's loyal help, it would have scarcely been possible, when the effort for union came, to allay the anxiety of the French-Canadians lest they should be swallowed up and their individuality be lost in the large proposed confederacy."

Cartier's position at that time, it must be remembered, was an extremely difficult one; in fact, it is the difficulties which he then encountered and the manner in which he triumphed over them, that entitled him to all the more credit. "Never did a French-Canadian statesman," as an eminent French-Canadian writer has remarked, "have to face a greater responsibility than that which Cartier assumed the day when he had the alternative of accepting or refusing Confederation. Neither Papineau nor Lafontaine had to place in the balance such grave issues. Their role was reduced to demanding liberty for Canadians. Cartier had to choose between a problematical future and a recognized state of affairs, with well defined advantages. Would as many guarantees be found in the edifice which was to be constructed? By accepting the confederation of the provinces, was it not leaving the certain for the uncertain? Such were the questions which agitated minds anxiously weighed."

There was strong opposition to Confederation in Quebec as well as in other provinces. Cartier had to face the powerful attacks of redoubtable and able antagonists who maintained that Confederation would be detrimental to the interests of the French-Canadians. His contention was that with general interests entrusted to a central government and local interests to local legislatures, the rights of the French-Canadians would be amply safeguarded. Cartier maintained his position in the face of the most determined opposition and even against bitter personal attacks. He had his vindication when in the elections of 1867 the people of Quebec returned him to Parliament with a triumphant following.

And has not the course of events since Confederation vindicated the position which Cartier then took? The French-Canadians have not only enjoyed the fullest freedom in the direction of provincial affairs, but they have played a large and important part in the public life of Canada, a French-Canadian has occupied the exalted position of Prime Minister of the Dominion, and no matter whether they agree with his policy or not, all fair-minded Canadians must admit that Sir Wilfred Laurier personally filled that great office with the utmost distinction, with credit to himself and to his country. Under Confederation there has been friction at times due in most cases to demagogic appeals to popular passion and racial feeling, but the sound common sense of the mass of the people has always asserted itself, and the governmental and legislative machinery has been found elastic enough to meet ever increasing demands.

A notable tribute was recently paid to Cartier and the other great Fathers of Confederation by that distinguished British statesmen, diplomat, and author, Right Hon. James Bryce, when in addressing the Canadian Club of Montreal a few weeks ago he said: "Not less remarkable than your material progress has been the growth of your constitutional government, although in its early days there were not wanting people to show that Canada could never be a great nation. Your federal system has worked on the whole with wonderful success and with little friction. It has worked perhaps better than anywhere else in the world; I think the only example of equal success is that of Switzerland. You have had the great problem of two races living side by side, of peoples different in race and language, who the federal system was designed to unite, while the federation of districts so dissimilar as the province of British Columbia, the prairies, and the Maritime Provinces shows that as far as adaptation to local conditions is concerned the federal system has been an unqualified success. And this success is a tribute to the capacity of the men who have governed as well as to those who framed the constitution."

The successful working of the federal system in Canada to which Mr. Bryce bore testimony, is another striking proof of the wise and far-sighted statesmanship of Cartier and the other public men who framed our constitution.

Confederation having been accomplished, Cartier's energies were directed to measures for the strengthening and defence of the national fabric. He was largely instrumental in determining the route of the Intercolonial Railway, and in having that road, which is admitted has been a most important factor in consolidating the Dominion, completed. One of the most important measures of Cartier's public career, was undoubtedly the one which, as Minister of Militia and Defence, he presented to Parliament on March 31st, 1868, and which provided for the organization of the Canadian Militia, a measure that is the basis of our whole militia system.

Confederation, as you know, originally included only the four provinces of Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It was the desire of Cartier, as it was that of Macdonald to see established a united Canada, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a great maritime as well as land power with the furthest east united to the furthest west by a great transcontinental railway system. When the union of the four provinces had been accomplished, Cartier was steadfast in his efforts to secure the accomplishment

of the larger idea. He fully realized the possibilities of the great West and the importance of securing for the Dominion that vast territory, the development of which has been the marvel of the past quarter of a century. Largely through his efforts, the great western territory now forming the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, was secured from the Hudson's Bay Company on most advantageous terms. When we realize that this immensely rich territory "the granary of the Empire," was acquired for the Dominion for the insignificant sum of \$1,500,000, largely through the negotiations which Cartier conducted in England, some idea of the importance of the services he rendered in that connection, may be formed. Cartier also framed the bill creating the Province of Manitoba, which he presented and had passed at the session of 1871. Only one thing was needed to round out Confederation, and that was the admission of British Columbia. In the negotiations which resulted in the admission of that great Province into the Dominion, Cartier played a leading part, and it was he who on November 28th, 1871, presented the bill to Parliament providing that British Columbia should become a portion of the Dominion. On that occasion Cartier hailed the realization of his dream of a united Canada extending from ocean to ocean, with pardonable pride.

"I cannot close my explanations," he declared, "without impressing on the honorable members the greatness of the work. This young Confederation is on the point of extending over the whole northern portion of the continent, and when we consider that it took our neighbors sixty years to extend to the Pacific, where will be found in the history of the world anything comparable to our marvellous prosperity? I have always maintained that a nation to be great must have maritime power in a high degree. Our union with the maritime provinces gives us a seaboard on the east, and now our union with British Columbia will give us a seaboard on the west."

With the admission of British Columbia to Confederation, the dream of Cartier and of Macdonald, of a united Canada extending from ocean to ocean, was realized. But one thing more was required to bind the scattered provinces firmly together—a great transcontinental railway. Cartier was one of the strongest advocates of such an undertaking, and to him belongs the glory of having had passed the first charter for the Canadian Pacific Railway. One of the terms of the union of British Columbia with Canada under the Act presented by Cartier, was the construction of such a

road. It is related that the delegates of British Columbia during the negotiations urged upon Cartier that a railway should be built across the Prairies to the foot of the Rockies, and that a colonization road should be laid out from the foot of the Rockies to the Coast. "No," replied Cartier, "that will not do; ask for a railway the whole way and you will get it." Some leading public men of the time thought that Cartier was willing to undertake too great an obligation, but events have more than justified his optimism. At the session of 1872, Cartier presented resolutions providing for the construction of the Canadian Pacific. After a remarkable debate, a bill based on the resolutions was adopted, and Cartier, springing to his feet, gave utterance amidst loud cheers to the expression which has become historic: "All aboard for the West."

It was the last great triumph of his public career. He did not live to see the realization of his dream, for it was not until thirteen years afterwards, that is to say, on November 7th, 1885, that the last spike of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven by Sir Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona, at Craigellachie, a small village of British Columbia, and on July 24th, 1886, Cartier's great colleague and fellow-worker for a united Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald personally reached the Pacific by rail from Ottawa.

Though Cartier did not live to see the completion of the gigantic undertaking which meant so much for Canada, it is one of his chief merits that he was one of the initiators and strongest supporters, and that he foresaw and foretold its great future.

"Before very long," he declared, addressing Parliament, the English traveller who lands in Halifax will be able in five or six days to cover half of the continent inhabited by British subjects."

How Cartier's prophecy had been fulfilled we all know. The traveller landing to-day at Halifax can reach Victoria by means of the Canadian Pacific in less than six days. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company has become one of the greatest corporations in the world, operating not only a great transcontinental railway, and a chain of palatial hotels, but also possessing magnificent fleets on the Atlantic and the Pacific, with its vessels now encircling the globe. It has progressed stage by stage until under the able direction of its present distinguished head, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, it has attained the greatest position in its history, and with the continued development of the Dominion, its achieve-

ments, great as they have been, will undoubtedly be surpassed in the future. Cartier, by his strenuous advocacy of the construction of the road in days when faith in the future was at a discount, gave another evidence of his great foresight as well as of his faith in the future of the Dominion which he did so much to establish.

No review of Cartier's career, however summary, would be complete without some reference to the alliance that existed between him and the other great Canadian statesman, Sir John A. Macdonald, an alliance which was for a long period a most important factor in the public life of Canada. In his great painting, "The Fathers of Confederation," the artist Harris most appropriately places Macdonald and Cartier conspicuously in the centre of the group, and the names of those two great statesmen must forever be linked in connection with that epoch making measure.

Macdonald and Cartier began their public careers within a few years of each other, Macdonald being first returned to Parliament in 1844, while Cartier became a member in 1848. The two men first became closely associated as members of the same Government, the MacNab-Tache Ministry, formed in 1855, in which ministry Macdonald held the portfolio of Attorney-General for Upper Canada, while Cartier was Provincial Secretary, the first public office he held. From that time until the day of Cartier's death, the association between the two men remained practically unbroken. Their alliance, as has been well said, was based on equal consideration for the rightful claims of both nationalities.

Each of the two men had qualities not possessed by the other. Macdonald had a magnetic personality, he was a consummate tactician, an incomparable leader of men. He had that genius which enables its possessor to seize and make the most of an opportunity. He had that quality, so indispensable in a great leader, of gaining the loyal and devoted support of men of widely different characters and temperaments. Macdonald in short combined the grasp of the statesman with the arts of a politician. Cartier excelled as an administrator; he was a tireless and indefatigable worker who never spared himself and who expected others to follow his example. He studied and analyzed all subjects which he had to handle to the very bottom, and when he came to discuss them he had a complete mastery of all the details. He was strong, nay, even dogmatic, in his convictions; once his mind was made up he pursued the path he had marked out for himself with persistent determination, heedless of all obstacles in his way. To his followers

his word was law, and he exacted from them unswerving obedience. His energy was prodigious; he deserved the designation given to him by Gladstone when that great statesman said that Cartier was "un homme qui semble 'etre legion,'"—a man who was a legion in himself. Cartier's was essentially a strong and determined character.

It was of course impossible that men of such brilliant temperaments as Macdonald and Cartier and representing often such divergent interests, should not have their differences, but whatever differences they may have had never interfered with the high personal esteem and regard they entertained for each other.

At a great banquet given in his honor by the Bar of Toronto on February 8th, 1866, Macdonald took occasion to pay a warm and generous tribute to his French-Canadian colleague who was one of the guests of honor.

"I wish to say," declared Macdonald, "that Hon. Mr. Cartier has a right to share in the honors which I am receiving to-night, because I have never made an appeal to him or to the Lower Canadians in vain. There is not in the whole of Canada a heart more devoted to his friends. If I have succeeded in introducing the institutions of Great Britain, it is due in great part to my friend, who has never permitted under his administration that the bonds which attach us to England should be weakened."

Cartier was equally generous in appreciation of his great colleague. Speaking at a banquet tendered Macdonald by the citizens of Kingston on September 6th, 1866, Cartier said :

"Kingston is indeed a favored city, for it has for its representative a statesman who has never yet been surpassed in Canada, and who probably never will be in the future. I have had the happiness of being associated with the member for Kingston in my public career, and of having formed with him an alliance which has already lasted longer than all alliances of this kind in Canada. The success which we have obtained together has been due to the fact that we have repelled all sectional feelings and sought what might benefit Canada as a whole."

That was the keynote of the Cartier-Macdonald alliance, the subordination of all sectional and racial feeling to the welfare of Canada as a whole. Cartier throughout his long public career was essentially a peacemaker, who always strove to promote a better feeling between the two races. A striking testimony to the success of his efforts in that direction was given on one occasion in Parliament when

Mr. Benjamin, a leading Ontario member declared : " I cannot refrain from acknowledging that Mr. Cartier has done more to unite the two races and to re-establish harmony between them than any other member of the House."

Well shall it always be for the Dominion, if its public men, no matter to what political party they may belong, always adhere to the sane and true principles upon which the Macdonald-Cartier alliance was based—mutual toleration and good-will, respect for the rights of all, the co-operation of races, the safeguarding of Canada's autonomy, and the development of Canadian nationality. The Macdonald-Cartier alliance in fact symbolized that union which should always exist between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. And why should there not be union ? What matters it whether we speak different languages or worship at different altars, if we always remember that we are all Canadians, mutually interested in the welfare and aggrandizement of our common country ? That was the spirit which actuated both Cartier and Macdonald during their long association, and it will be well if such a spirit always prevails in the Dominion. It is only, in fact, upon such a basis that the permanence of Confederation, of which Macdonald and Cartier were the principal architects, can be assured.

The aim of Macdonald, Cartier, and the other great Fathers of Confederation, was to establish broad and deep the foundations of a Canadian nationality, based on the broadest principles of justice, tolerance, and equal rights. All their public utterances during the Confederation negotiations, testify to this fact. Macdonald's conception was that as the Dominion progressed it would become, to use his own words, year by year less a case of dependence on our part, and of overwhelming protection on the part of the Mother Country, and more a case of healthy and cordial alliance, that instead of looking upon us as a merely dependent colony, England would have in us a friendly nation—a subordinate but still powerful people—to stand by her in North America in peace or war.

It is given to some men to have a vision that forsees the future and enables them to provide for momentous developments. Both Cartier and Macdonald were such men. It is in fact the supreme merit of Cartier that whilst always standing firmly for the rights of his French-Canadian compatriots, his vision was not confined to the Province of Quebec. If any one does, Cartier deserves the distinction of being known as a great Canadian. There was nothing

narrow or provincial in his views. His idea was a united Canada, stretching from ocean to ocean, in which men of all races, languages and creeds should work together as brethren for the welfare and advancement of their common country. Cartier's desire was that his French-Canadian compatriots should not confine their attention to the Province of Quebec, but should take their full share in the life of the Dominion, that they should above all rejoice in the name "Canadian," be proud of the great Dominion and work for its welfare in co-operation with their English-speaking fellow countrymen.

"Objection is made to our project," says Cartier, in his great speech during the Confederation debates, "because of the words 'a new nationality.' But if we unite we will form a political nationality independent of the national origin and religion of individuals. Some have regretted that we have a distinction of races and have expressed the hope that in time this diversity will disappear. The idea of a fusion of all races is utopian, it is an impossibility. Distinctions of this character will always exist, diversity is the order of the physical, moral and political worlds. As to the objection that we cannot form a great nation because Lower Canada is principally French and Catholic, Upper Canada English and Protestant, and the Maritime Provinces mixed, it is futile in the extreme.

"Take for example the United Kingdom, inhabited as it is by three great races. Has the diversity of races been an obstacle to the progress and the welfare of Great Britain? Have not the three races united by their combined qualities, their energy and their courage, contributed to the glory of the Empire, to its laws of wise, to its success on land, on sea and in commerce.

"In our Confederation there will be Catholics and Protestants, English, French, Irish and Scotch, and each by its efforts and success will add to the prosperity of the Dominion, to the glory of a new Confederation. We are of different races, not to quarrel, but to work together for our common welfare. We cannot by law make the differences of race disappear, but I am convinced that the Anglo-Canadian and the French-Canadian will appreciate the advantages of their position. Set side by side like a great family, their contact will produce a happy spirit of emulation. The diversity of race will, in fact, believe me, contribute to the common prosperity."

What words of wisdom ! What a spirit of true patriotism, of justice and of toleration they breathe ! If Cartier

in fact never made any other utterance than this, it would be sufficient to stamp him as a true patriot and wise statesman. It will be well for Canada if such are always the guiding principles of its national life.

While the idea of Macdonald and Cartier and the other great Fathers of Confederation was, as has been said, to establish a Canadian nationality, none the less was it their intention to perpetuate British Institutions on the North American continent, to establish, to use Macdonald's expression, a friendly nation, enjoying, it is true, the most complete autonomy, but at the same time in alliance with Great Britain and the other portions of the Empire. No stronger believer in British institutions as the repository of freedom; no more ardent admirer of the British flag as the symbol of justice and liberty could be found than Cartier. In all his utterances during the Confederation debates, he took special pains to emphasize that Confederation was intended not to weaken, but to strengthen, the ties between the Dominion, Great Britain and the other portions of the Empire. "Confederation," he said, in one of his speeches on the measure, "has for its first reason our common affection for British institutions, its object is to assure by all possible guarantees, their maintenance in the future."

For the British flag Cartier on all occasions expressed a passionate devotion.

"The Canadian people," he said at a great banquet given in his honor in London in 1869, "desires to remain faithful to the old flag of Great Britain, that flag which waves over all seas, which tyranny has never been able to overcome, that flag which symbolizes true liberty."

These words expressed Cartier's deep and earnest conviction. During his several visits to Great Britain, he was deeply impressed by the greatness of British institutions. On those occasions he was the recipient of signal marks of honor; he was the personal guest of Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle for some time, and he received marked attention from Gladstone, Lord Lytton, and other distinguished British statesmen. His services in connection with the establishment of Confederation, as you know, were recognized by the conferring of a baronetcy upon him by Queen Victoria.

One of Cartier's chief claims to honor is that it was he who secured the incorporation of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, which has done so much for the development of Canada in general, and the City of Montreal in particular.

Cartier always took the greatest pride in that fact. In a speech delivered in the legislature he declared that he regarded the construction of the Grand Trunk as the greatest benefit that had ever been conferred on the country. "I had charge of the Act which created the Grand Trunk Railway," he added, "and I am prouder of that than of any other action of my life." The Grand Trunk at the outset of its history had many difficulties, financial and otherwise, to encounter, and it was due to Cartier's efforts in a large measure, that the Company was able to tide over these difficulties, and that its success was assured.

Like many other statesmen, Cartier experienced the vicissitudes, as well as the triumphs, of public life. His last appeal to the electors of Montreal, made when he was practically a dying man, resulted, owing to a combination of circumstances, in his crushing defeat. He was greeted not with bouquets, but with stones, from people of a city for which he had worked so hard, and for the advancement of which he had done so much. Another seat was found for him in Provencher, Manitoba, but his public career was over. In an effort to secure the restoration of his health he went to England, but the hope was vain: the incessant labors of a long public career had broken down a naturally robust constitution, and the great statesman passed away in London, England, on May 23rd, 1873. His last thoughts were for his beloved country.

"Say to his friends in Canada," wrote one of his daughters in a touching letter announcing his death to a friend in Montreal, "say to his friends in Canada that he loved his country to the last, and that his only desire was to return. Two days before his death he had all the Canadian newspapers read to him. Even his enemies, I hope, will not refuse to admit that before all he loved his country."

The national mourning that followed the announcement of his death, the eulogiums pronounced by the newspapers of all shades of opinion, the eulogies delivered in Parliament, the scene of his labors for so many years, and the imposing public funeral that was given his remains in Montreal, all bore eloquent testimony to the fact that the Canadian people regardless of party, recognized that in his death Canada had indeed lost one who before all had loved his country. His remains rest beneath the soil of Mount Royal, which overlooks the city that he loved so well, and for the interests of which he worked so hard.

What were the lessons of Cartier's life? They may be summed up in the three words—patriotism, duty and toler-

ance. He loved his country and sought to promote its interests, he wore himself out in the discharge of his public duties, he was a man of the broadest views and the utmost tolerance. As Sir Adolphe Routhier has well remarked, to most public men public life is a career, but for Cartier it was an apostolate, a patriotic mission, and to fulfill that mission he sacrificed everything, even the modest fortune of which his family had need.

A French-Canadian and proud of his origin, a Roman Catholic and true to his faith, strong in his convictions, Cartier at the same time was a man of generous sympathies, of broad views, and great tolerance. His charity was broad enough to include men of all races, languages and creeds. "My policy, and I think it best," he said on one occasion, "is respect for the rights of all." Actuated by that spirit he stood firmly on all occasions where there was justification for the rights of minorities, whether French or English, Catholic or Protestant. At the time of Confederation, for instance, some fear was expressed that the interests of the Protestant minority of Quebec would be jeopardized under the new constitution. Cartier pledged his word that nothing of the kind would happen. "I have already had occasion to proclaim in Parliament," he said, addressing the citizens of Montreal, "that the Protestant minority of Lower Canada have nothing to fear from the Provincial Legislature under Confederation. My word is given, and I repeat that nothing will be done of a nature to injure the principles and the rights of that minority."

Cartier's pledge, it is needless to say, has been sacredly kept.

On the same occasion, Cartier showed his largeness of views by declaring: "You know I am a Catholic. I love my religion, believing it the best, but whilst proudly declaring myself a Catholic, I believe it my duty as a public man to respect the sincerity and the religious convictions of others. I am also a French-Canadian. I love my race. I of course have for it a predilection which is assuredly only natural, but as a public man and as a citizen, I also love others. Such were Cartier's guiding principles throughout life.

Cartier, like all other human beings, had his faults, as well as his virtues, his public career was not without its mistakes, but nobody ever questioned his ardent love for his country, his absolute sincerity, his high sense of honor, his personal honesty and integrity, his fearless energy, and the firmness with which he always stood for his convictions.

His motto "Franc et sans dol" (Frank and without deceit), well describes the character of the man.

Did time permit, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, a great deal more might be said of Cartier and his works. But has not sufficient been said to justify the contention that Cartier was a great Canadian, a nation-builder in the truest sense of that term, one whose memory is entitled to lasting honor from all Canadians? Does not the summary record of his career, which has been given, amply justify the declaration of the great Lord Dufferin that Cartier's name must forever be indissolubly incorporated with the most eventful and glorious epoch of his country's history, commencing as it did with his entrance into political life and culminating in that consolidation of the Provinces to which his genius, courage and ability so materially contributed.

Macdonald, Cartier, Tupper, Tilley, Brown, Galt, and the other great Fathers of Confederation builded better even than they knew. As the result of their wise statesmanship and patriotic efforts, Canada to-day stands a young giant amongst the peoples of the world. Under Confederation there has been witnessed a marvellous expansion and an unprecedented prosperity. We have to-day, to use the words of one of the most patriotic of our national poets, John Daniel Logan—we have to-day a land

Blessed with youth and strength, and health and peace.

And great as is the position of the Dominion at present, it is insignificant to what it will be if Canadians are only true to the teachings of the Fathers, if they all work together for the common welfare, if they are true to the national interests of the Dominion, and guard their great heritage against all influences of an insidious character.

Canadians do well to honor the memories of those great men who laid broad and deep the foundations of Canadian nationality, and who accomplished great works for the welfare of the Dominion. In the leading cities of Canada, stately monuments attest the recognition of a grateful people of the services of that great Father of Confederation, and that illustrious Canadian statesman, Sir John A. Macdonald. Brown and Tilley too, have their monuments. Sir Charles Tupper is still happily with us in person, and I am sure that we all trust that his life may long be spared. His name will always be remembered as that of one of the leading Fathers of Confederation and one of our greatest statesmen.

Does not justice demand that fitting honor should be

done to that other great Father of Confederation, Sir George Etienne Cartier, by the erection of a memorial which will adequately express the recognition of all Canadians of his

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Plague, Famine and Unrest in India.

REV. FATHER VINCENT NAISH, S. J.

(Since deceased.)

(May 12, 1913.)

IT IS generally admitted to-day that the problem of India is the great problem of the Empire, as in that vast and wonderful country reside three-quarters of the subjects of the Empire. It is not generally appreciated, but it is generally known, that one can count the population of America and Canada three times, and still there is a majority in India. India is a continent of hundreds of races and four hundred dialects and languages, and the problem of dealing with its population of three hundred and twenty millions is becoming acute. The problem, however, is not so much the magnitude of the population, but the terrible increase. When England took over India there were not more than 100,000,000 to 150,000,000 inhabitants, whereas there are now 320,000,000. The increase, as certified by the official census, is 60,000,000 since 1881, and but for plague and famine it would have been 100,000,000. Shortly after I reached India, the country was swept by the bubonic plague, and the increase from the years 1891 to 1901 was only ten million, and from 1901 to 1911 it was 20,000,000, showing that the country was recovering from plague conditions.

Remember that the average Hindu, the common working man, lives and thrives on four cents a day, and a child on two cents. When I was in India I had to keep a horse and carriage, which cost me ten dollars a month, while two Hindu servants with their families cost less than that one horse. There are some people still living who can remember before the railways had been built to carry the produce to the ports, that a man could be hired for one rupee and a half, which is equal to seventy-five cents.

The terrible question confronting the people is that of caste. This may be roughly defined as the religious consecration of all trades. The blacksmith, tinsmith, fisherman, etc., is hereditarily consecrated to that caste and must never rise above it. As Sir William Hunter sums it up—religion is caste; caste is religion. It is the bond of national unity and the national pride of Hindooism. So long as caste is maintained, the work of government is easy, as there can



REV. FATHER VINCENT NAISH, S. J.
(Since deceased.)

be no politics. There can be no freedom nor the power of voting, as these privileges of a Christian people are the offspring of Christianity. It is not generally known that there are millions of women living in absolute seclusion behind bolts and doors and never show their faces. Just as in the East it is dangerous to face the light of the sun, so I think I shall be able to do you better service by throwing some sidelights on some of the great questions.

From 1890 to 1903 I was rector of St. Xaviers, one of the oldest colleges in India, and was acquainted with Lord Lansdowne and his successors, Lord Elgin and Lord Curzon, and in this way given an opportunity of seeing great problems from the inside. The three problems that arose were plague, famine and unrest, and I was intimately connected with the problem of plague as my college was the meeting place of the first Indian medical congress to study the question. It was at this meeting that Dr. Haffkine created history by leaving the bed on which he lay stricken with malaria fever and read his paper, which revolutionized and later reduced to a minimum the deadly effects of the plague. His theory, like the efforts of all great scientists, was severely criticized, but it was through Dr. Haffkine's paper that legislation was enacted making inoculation practicable throughout India. As a result of this disinfection and inoculation, the plague has ceased to be a serious factor.

England does not properly encourage scientific research, but English science has redeemed itself in Sir Donald Ross' discovery of the malaria germ which mows down millions year after year, and the tracing of the germ to the mosquito, is due to him.

In 1892, when the plague broke out, the authorities ordered the houses to be disinfected. This met with strong opposition from the natives, and two officers were shot down in attempting to carry out the work of disinfection. The strange thing to Europeans is that the plague, which is similar to the Black Death, is really a filth disease, being carried by fleas and rats. I never knew an Englishman to die of it, save doctors or nurses who attend patients while themselves suffering from open wounds.

The plague danger has been removed through inoculation, but famine, like the poor, is always with us. Those of you who can go back with me twenty or thirty years will remember the terrible conditions during the famines of those times. The civil service of India is the greatest the world has ever seen. It was the great upheaval of 1857 that caused the Indian civil service to be thrown open to all

British subjects. Men of the stamp of Clive and Hastings were sent out by nomination, and it is a fact that the opportunities made the man, rather than that the man made the opportunities, as illustrated by the lives of Clive and Hastings. It is most important to select men of honor, and in this way graft is almost unknown. The system is the most magnificent in the world, due to the pensions of approximately \$2,000 to the widows of civil servants, who know that if they are shot down their loved ones are provided for. I had an opportunity of studying the famine question from the inside, as I was in the country during the great famines of that period. Year after year, decade after decade, the machinery for fighting the famine has been improved until now it is almost perfect, though the system of caste which prevents the introduction of European ideas is a beautiful way to promote charity, as the people of one caste are forced to share with each other. The average Hindu, in his respect for age and teachers, is far ahead, I regret to say, of the average Christian.

When a famine is feared, the authorities announce that they will build a bridge or a huge lake and know by this means if the famine is going to press. Sometimes it is necessary to employ thousands of natives at wages of one cent, which buys sufficient rice to keep body and soul together, for rice, not bread, is the staff of life.

The Hindu is our Indo-Germanic cousin, and is distinctly Aryan, but India is so vast that people are prone to forget it. Sir Anthony McDonnell's plan in dealing with the famine conditions, was to put the men to work on the greater contracts at a distance from their homes, and then as their strength decreased, bring them nearer home and help them to eke out a living. Sir Anthony McDonnell worked out his plan on that principle, though meeting with great opposition, and saved twenty million lives. Though smaller famines still occur occasionally, the terrible fear no longer exists. Whatever happens in India, Burmah is always safe.

The rainfalls are something wonderful, and I have known sixty inches of rain to fall in twenty-four hours and whole sections of mountain to be washed away. Though at first, one is fearful of the terrible force of nature in that country, this afterwards becomes a fascinating feature and as someone has remarked, there is a certain amount of savage in everyone which breaks out under savage conditions.

Though Hindus have burned their wives alive for hundreds of years, this practice was stopped only seventy years

ago, and was one of the causes leading up to the Indian mutiny. I myself saw 100,000 people protest against Lord Lansdowne's bill in 1891, to establish limitation age of sixteen years for age of consent. The thing that will really test British power is the education of Hindu boys without providing them with opportunities for continuing that education. They are the six per cent. unsatisfied people—the best educated.

Twenty years ago I pointed out to the government that it was employing me to teach rebels by books in which revolutionists are glorified. In 1830 a law was passed mainly through the influence of the late Lord Macaulay, providing that all higher education must be given in English.

In the past fifty years amongst the Kolarian tribes, about 150,000 Catholics and 100,000 Protestants have been converted to Christianity and it is only a matter of time before these negroid tribes will probably be all converted.

The Mohammedan, being of a superior race and religion, rapidly established domination over India. It is estimated that if the strong arm of Britain was removed, in six months the 75,000,000 Mohammedans would thrash into submission the 250,000,000 natives.

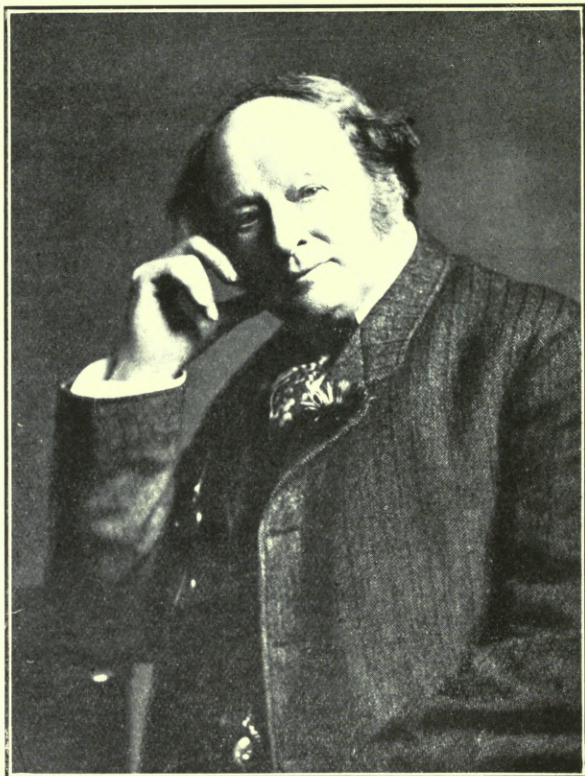
This unrest is like a circle and affects all, and a peculiar feature is that this unrest comes from the educated Hindus who are thrown out in life with the B. A.'s and M. A.'s and have nothing to look forward to but clerkship at forty to fifty dollars per month, which is a very high figure in India. The Hindus and Mohammedans have their own ideas of higher education. Hindus had their Sanscrit Tols, while the Mohammedans, on the other hand, have universities of their own, as at Cairo, Egypt. Under the influence of Macaulay, the authorities proceeded to force them to learn bad English and worse Latin.

This then is the cause of unrest, educating men and then giving them no opportunities for distinction. Some of the most successful leaders of revolt come direct from missionary colleges, as these are compelled to teach their pupils histories in which the principles of agitation and revolution are defended.

Here I have tried to explain the three causes of plague, famine and unrest. I would conclude by saying, in the words of Lord Randolph Churchill, "The British method of dealing with the question is like pouring oil on a troubled sea."

We are moving toward Home Rule for India in modified

form, as one-third of India still remains in the hands of Indian princes, whose history traces back farther than that of the royal families of Europe. These men rule one-third of India on condition that they don't kill unjustly or meddle with foreign affairs. The more power shifts to the educated, the more will the native princes support the British power.



ADAM BROWN,
Hamilton.

Reminiscences of Hamilton and Our Duty to the Empire.

ADAM BROWN, Hamilton.

(May 31, 1913.)

I THANK you, Mr. President, very warmly for your too kind words, and you gentlemen of the Canadian Club for the compliment paid me and for your enthusiastic reception. I am deeply touched by it. It is to me a matter of great delight to see so many of my oldest friends in this distinguished gathering. It is indeed a fitting day for the Canadian Club to hold its annual meeting—Empire Day. Permit me to say that we cannot accord too much praise to that gifted lady, Mrs. Fessenden, one of our most honored citizens, for the splendid work she has done for Canada and the Empire, having had this day fixed as Empire Day. She alone deserves the honor. I venture to say that nothing would be more cordially received by the people of the Dominion, than that the Government should in a practical manner show its appreciation of her splendid work by granting her a pension for life. She richly deserves it.

At my right hand sits my friend, C. R. McCullough, the father of Canadian Clubs; I am proud to call him my friend. No words of mine can adequately convey the far-reaching effects of that gentleman's labors in organizing Canadian Clubs. The Hamilton Club is the daddy of them all and has the largest membership, numbering 1,600. Mr. McCullough, by tongue and pen, has done noble work for Canada and the Empire. I observe in the cards sent out to the members of the Club that I am to speak in a reminiscent mood; therefore, any reference to things I have been connected with must not be regarded in the least as egotistical but just as relating to incidents in my life. For three score years and three I have lived in Hamilton. I came to Canada with my parents when about seven years of age, and my recollection of our landing at Quebec are as clear as if it were yesterday. I remember too, of the arrival of the ship in Montreal. It was my good fortune to be a scholar in St. Paul's school, in Montreal, the principal of which was the Rev. Dr. Edward Black, the minister of St. Paul's Church in that city, whose memory I revere. Speaking of St.

Paul's Church reminds me how the stately Honorable Peter McGill—the founder of McGill University—would often, as he was entering St. Paul's Church on a Sunday, put his hand on my shoulder and tell me to be a good boy. Well do I remember the great and gifted men who adorned the pulpit in those early days. I have a distinct recollection of the stirring times of the Rebellion of 1837. I remember well when the loyal inhabitants of Montreal were in terror of their lives, when the Glengarry Light Infantry marched from Glengarry to Montreal and drew up in line on Great St. James Street, then the loyalists of Montreal felt that with the presence of these stalwart sons of the heather everything was safe. As I stand before you memory becomes very busy. Oftentimes have I followed the 71st Highland Light Infantry as they were marching through the streets of Montreal mainly to listen to the band playing their regimental march, the well-known Scottish tune of "The Cotton Spinners." I pass over many reminiscences that I might state to you of my younger days in Montreal, did time allow. Memories are surging within me as I am speaking. I always had a strong ambition to see New York and I set to work to save my pennies to visit that city.

I travelled over the first fourteen miles of railway built in Canada from La Prairie to St. John; to reach it I took a ferry across the St. Lawrence. The sleepers on that railway were longitudinal, and the iron was flat bars screwed down. The railway ran at the great speed of $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. Contrast those days with the present, when we have 30,000 miles of railway in Canada and the railway companies are building at the rate of 1,000 miles a year, and instead of $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, they make 60 miles an hour often. I was employed in the large house of Gillespie, Moffat & Co., in Montreal, when Mr. Donald McInnes, afterwards Senator McInnes, made me a proposition to enter his employment at Hamilton at a much larger salary and I accepted it. The stipulation was that I had to be in Hamilton early in April, 1850. I could only reach Hamilton by one of two ways, either by going all the way round via Albany and Troy at great inconvenience and much expense and time, or take the sleighs from Montreal as far as they would go and the stage coach when we reached the end of the snow line. I took the latter. Well, it took me six days and seven nights to reach Toronto. We arrived there on a Sunday morning. I had a parcel that a lady friend in Montreal wished me to deliver to a student in Knox College. I asked the clerk of the hotel

how I could reach this gentleman. He suggested that I should go to Knox Church, as no doubt he would be at service with the students. I went, and I may tell you that Knox Church was then situated in the fields where Simpson & Co's great departmental store is now. The sexton replied to my inquiry by saying that the young man I wanted to see was in church with the rest of the students and he could get the parcel after the service, if I chose to wait. He showed me a seat at the very back of the gallery. All I can remember is that the church was packed, and that a venerable man, Rev. Dr. Burns, was in the pulpit, until I found myself roughly shaken, and it was the sexton waking me up. Everyone was out of the church and the young student was waiting for me in the vestibule. I had slept through the whole service. In the afternoon a very large number of passengers went on board the steamer Magnet, commanded by the late Captain Sutherland. It was advertised to sail for Hamilton that afternoon. I never experienced such a storm on any of our lakes or on the Atlantic as I did that day, and Captain Sutherland, when within sight of the piers at the canal was afraid to risk his steamer, and made a circuit of the lake and returned to Toronto. I caught the stage coach in time and travelled all night, reaching Hamilton and keeping my appointment. I would just like to mention to you that on the journey up from Montreal the men in the stage coach took turns during the night in holding a couple of black bottles, with tallow candles in them for light. I really enjoyed the journey, there was so much to amuse one. I can remember when we stopped at a town in Glengarry to change horses—it was after an election had been held and there was a good deal of talking going on—it was the aftermath, and I remember one Highlander exclaiming “I will nefer be satisfied until we hef a King for Scotland.” I may mention to you that the steamer Magnet was the first iron boat on our lakes, and I believe is still running under the name of the “Montreal.”

After being a year with Mr. McInnes I entered the employment of W. P. McLaren, and in a year or two two after I became a partner. In the evenings after office hours, after my arrival in Hamilton, I used to take my walks about the young city, and wherever I saw a light indicating a place of meeting I would enter it. One night I saw lights in the old City Hall, and they were very dim. I went up a long stair at the end of the building and entered the room where the lights were, which was the Council room. Round the table were a number of men, some of whom I already knew—

Sir Allan McNab, W. P. McLaren, Richard Juson, John Young and several others discussing with a delegation from Brantford the route of the proposed Great Western Railway, of which these gentlemen were the provisional directors, the Brantford people wanting the route to run right through the City of Hamilton pretty much in the way the T. H. & B. Railway does now, instead of going, as it afterwards did, via Paris; it would have been well for the city had the Brantford idea been carried out.

There was a great deal of fever in Hamilton about 1855, and the medical men attributed it to polluted water in the portion of the city occupied by milk dealers, and who watered their cows from these wells. An agitation was at once started for water works and I went into the fight with all the vigor which I possessed. The by-law was carried authorizing the construction of the works, notwithstanding the determined efforts of kickers and croakers to prevent our success. I was elected one of the first commissioners and on the retirement of Mr. Chas Magill in a few months, I was appointed chairman and continued in that position until the works were completed. Mr. David Galbraith, who was one of the first commissioners, is still with us. I had the honor of presenting the address to the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, on the occasion of his turning on the water at the pumping house at the Beach. The pipes were laid throughout the city by the late Wm. Hendrie, who did this work as he did all his work, well, and it was seven years before there was a leak in any of the pipes. The commissioners secured the services of Thomas C. Keefer, civil engineer, the most eminent hydraulic engineer in Canada for the great work. Mr. Keefer resides in Ottawa, and is still well and hearty. I called on the principal of the Central School and asked him to name who he thought the most promising boy in his school, so that he should have the honor of turning on the first tap in the city after the Prince had turned on the water at the Beach, and the booming of cannon had announced the fact. He promptly named John M. Gibson, who to-day is the representative of the King in this premier province, of the greatest dependency of the British Empire. Sir John M. Gibson richly merits the distinguished honor he received from the King; may he be long spared to serve his country and adorn the decoration. Not alone Hamilton, but the Province is proud of him. His career is an example to the young men of the Dominion.

I speak to you to-night and recall the days when I first landed in Hamilton, a place of then 12,000 in-

habitants, and the only active sort of industry that I saw in the place at the time was the McQuesten foundry, located where the present Royal Hotel stands, and comparing those days with to-day, when we have a population of at least 100,000 people, and of late growing at the rate of 5,000 a year, and that we have in the city 425 manufacturing industries, employing over 30,000 people, with a capital of \$60,000,000, and the yearly wage list is at least \$17,000,000. The change is almost beyond conception, it is enough to confound the arithmetician. At the hand of the electors I received the highest honors in the gift of the people, and it is a proud satisfaction to me to feel that in my place in Parliament I took a prominent part in the great iron tariff introduced by Sir Charles Tupper, which has made Hamilton to-day the Birmingham of Canada. Hamilton has had many ups and downs in my day. There was the McInnes fire, which was a great blow to our wholesale trade, and from which the dry goods part of it never recovered. Then the Montreal steamers, which used to leave our wharfs every morning, were taken off, and made only one trip a week to and from Hamilton. These were great blows to Hamilton, but I was one of those who never lost faith in our city. Hamilton is now coming into its own, and nothing can prevent its further advancement.

I was a passenger on the first train of the Great Western that left Hamilton for Niagara Falls. At one time in Hamilton's history the Toronto people had a project for building a railway across the back country, which would have robbed us of our trade in the north. There was a charter for the Wellington, Grey & Bruce Railway, which had been dormant. I saw the only hope was to have that road built and assisted by a noble band of men, I gave three years of my life to secure the construction of this line. I was also the provisional president of the Toronto Pacific Junction road, that is the line from Gravenhurst to North Bay to connect with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and remained so until the road was completed. I remember well when the late Wm. Hendrie and I stood on the connecting rails connecting Ontario with the great transcontinental railway. I was also a director on the line from Toronto to Ottawa, now the Canadian Pacific. The interest I took in these roads was purely for the good of the trade of Hamilton and the Province.

When Wolfe gained his victory on the Plains of Abraham the great Pitt said in the British House of Commons that Wolfe had added an empire to British rule, while in France they said the loss of Canada was nothing but a few

leagues of snow and ice. Little did Pitt imagine when he uttered these memorable words what an empire Canada would become.

The old scattered Provinces are now one united Dominion. There were statesmen in those days who thought of their country before their party and joined hands in bringing about the great Confederation. Although politically opposed to him, I have always felt that in the case of the Hon. George Brown, whose political leanings were always very strong, and who joined hands with John A. Macdonald and other leaders of his party, for the great cause, deserved the highest praise. The fathers of Confederation were nation builders—builders who laid the foundations deep and enduring—all of them have passed away with the exception of the grand old lion of Nova Scotia, Sir Charles Tupper, whose great service to Canada will ever live in Canadian history. Nova Scotia has given some great men to guide the destinies of Canada. This great Dominion now has a population of over 7,000,000. It is one-third the size of the British Empire, twice as large as India, and one-fifth the size of the whole world, and not counting the State of Alaska, it is 250,000 miles larger than the United States of America. We are washed, I may say, by four oceans, for Hudson's Bay is certainly one, its area being 35,000 square miles. It is 1,000 miles long and 600 wide, and you could drop England, Ireland and Scotland into it and never know they were there. Our own Province of Ontario is 20,000 miles larger than the United Kingdom. Canada is the loyal, loving link which unites the Empire; oceans no longer divide it, you can sail from any port in England, Scotland or Ireland, cross the Atlantic, then through Canada by Canadian Pacific ribbons of steel and on from Vancouver to the eastern possessions of the Empire under one flag—the Union Jack. The progress of Canada has challenged the attention of the whole world: it is beyond conception, and we are but on the fringe of progress. The Canadian Pacific Railway has proved to be an empire builder. It is the imperial highway to British possessions in the east, guarded throughout by loyal hearts; it is the longest and greatest railway controlled by one corporation, and is a triumph of engineering skill. Rapid transportation and good postal facilities are tremendous factors of a nation. We have both in Canada. Fancy, to-day there are 14,000 post offices, and last year over 7,000,000 pieces of mail passed through the mails.

I visited the great North West during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, when it had reached as far as Moosejaw. At that time there were but six tents in

Regina. After the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway to Vancouver, when I was your representative in Parliament, I went out not only to see my son, who was in the service of the railway at Vancouver, but to form an opinion of the country so that I could give intelligent votes on matters affecting the Great West and British Columbia. On my visit last summer with my son, George McLaren Brown, I found cities and towns of large populations that had no existence on the map when I was there before. The rapid growth of the cities of Winnipeg and Vancouver almost takes one's breath away. Places like Brandon, Regina, Calgary and Edmonton and other great cities, with all the equipments that cities in Ontario have taken half a century to get, it is impossible to find words to adequately convey any idea of their growth and of the great advance of the country.

We are here in this land English, Irish, Scotch, all filled with the love of the land from which we sprung. The Englishman loves the green lanes and the hedge roses and ivy-covered church towers of his native land. The Irishman thinks there is no plant that grows equal to the "dear little, sweet little shamrock," the Scotchman's heart is touched by a sprig of heather, and is proud of the glorious history of his country, and because of the love they all have for their native land they are the best kind of citizens in their adopted country; but there is a problem that faces us and which must be met. We have twenty-five foreign languages in Canada. The children should be taught the English language, taught Canadian and British history, and brought up to be thoroughly British. If this is not done we may have a serious condition of affairs to face in comparatively a few years. Politicians should rise above party and meet this matter as it ought to be met. Some one has said, let me make the songs of a country and I will make its laws. Make the home life of Canada happy and I will show you a happy and prosperous country. The foundations of national glory are set in the homes of the people, and as King George said recently, these foundations will only remain unshaken while the family life of our people and nation is strong, simple and pure. It is the intelligence of the people that is the bulwark of any country. Young life is carving out a great future in our Great West. We are offering homes to millions not only from overcrowded Europe, but those of the dear motherland to this Dominion.

"Where the rights of the free
Are firm as the Earth,
And wide as the sea."

There is no country on earth where the people enjoy more freedom than in Canada. Freedom of thought is the birthright of every man.

"You may chain the eagle's wing
No more on clouds to soar,
You may seal the mountain spring
That it leap to life no more,
But the mind let none dare chain;
Better it cease to be.
Born not to serve but reign—
God made it to be free.

Let us have men in Canada who "can feel their bosoms throb at mention of their country's name." "Men who will take the Bible as the charter of their faith. Men who regard their country before their party and their religion before their sect."

I have referred to Canada as being the loyal link which unites the Empire. Canada has in the past had every reason to be proud of her record in support of the motherland. In times of peril her sons rallied round the flag of their country; in the war of 1812-13 they fought for their hearths and homes and saved Canada to Great Britain, not alone her sons but the women too—the story of brave Laura Secord will live forever in Canadian history. In the rebellion of 1837, in the Fenian raid, in the Riel Rebellion in the North West, and more recently in the South African war, they showed the metal they were made of. When the call came for help, Canadians, English speaking and French, jumped to arms at the bugle call.

"Their's not to reason why,
Their's but to do or die."

Off they went to fight for the Empire. The spirit that filled their hearts as they sailed away, can be expressed in the stirring lines by Canon Scott, of Quebec :

"We'll stand by the dear old flag boys,
Whatever be said or done,
Though the shots come fast as we face the blast,
And the foe be ten to one."

They got their chance at Paardeburg and covered themselves with glory. Many of them fell with their faces to the foe; their names are written in letters large on the roll of British valour alongside of Britain's heroic dead. Canadians revered, adored the late beloved Queen Victoria, the purest monarch that ever adorned a throne, an example not only to the world for her regal graces as a Queen, but for her virtues as a woman, a wife and a mother; an ex-

ample so much needed in the present day. Do you remember the touching story of when Her Majesty was going through the hospital at Netley and came to the cot of a wounded Canadian who had been sent back invalided from Africa, when the good Queen said to him, "Is there anything you would like me to do for you?" The poor, suffering Canadian said "No, your Majesty, except to thank the nurse for her goodness to me." The Queen turned to the nurse and said, "I thank you for your goodness to my son." Yes, he was her son, we are all her sons, and all the sons to-day of her grandson, our beloved King George.

Canadians are staunch Imperialists. Earl Grey in a speech he made in England lately referring to the greatness of Canada and its future said that "with a pure judiciary and clean politics Canada bids fair not only to be the granary of the world, but the rudder of the Empire." In that speech he said that it would take a string of freight cars between 4,000 and 5,000 miles long to carry off the crop of the West. Canada owes a great debt to Britain for all she has done for it. The best that she can give in return is none too good and what we do give should be given with gratitude and grace.

We have in the past had great men of both political parties to lead us, men who could take their places side by side with England's greatest statesmen. Near by where we are now gathered is the statue of Canada's greatest statesman, Sir John A. Macdonald, who in our House of Commons said "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die." May this land never be without men fitted to command and to pilot the ship of state safely. As I am speaking to you the greatness of our country and the vast possibilities of its future crowd upon my mind. The development of New Ontario is adding another and a greater Ontario to our country. The Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern Railway soon to be completed to the blue waters of the Pacific, are opening up vast regions for settlement, regions of great fertility and natural resources, creating as it were new empires on this great continent, offering homes to many millions more. It is a land where busy energy has its reward, where happiness following successful labour is enjoyed, a land where idleness has no place, a land where men with stout hearts and strong arms win the day, a land which to blossom has but to be touched, a land where settlers are contented, prosperous and happy, and desire no institutions other than those which prosperity has smiled upon them, a land where plenty is the fruit of honest toil, a land of

"Prairies like oceans where billows have rolled
Broad as the nations and kingdoms of old."

In with the men, plow the earth, sow the precious seed, reap the golden grain, and out with it to feed a hungry world. It is a land from ocean to ocean, of which any people may be proud. Our schools, colleges, universities, churches and institutions for the amelioration of suffering and for the uplifting and bettering of the people can compare with those of any country in the world. There is no other dependency of the British Empire more richly deserving the name of Greater Britain than Canada; her dreaming days are done.

"The track is clear before us,
From the prairies to the ocean,
Let us raise the mighty chorus,
For the days that are to be."

Canadians will take no second place in devotion to King and country. With a father's pride, I quote from a speech made recently by my son, George McLaren Brown, European Manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway, at the Canadian Club in London, in proposing the toast of the "Dominion of Canada," "To the man born and bred in the United Kingdom, loyalty to the British Empire may be, and likely is, a matter of course, but to those who dwell in the far-off Dominions, this loyalty and all it stands for, is more than that; it is a high ideal, and so when a Canadian speaks of the United Empire it is no mere idle phrase—it is the advocacy of something near and dear to him." Yes, he struck the right chord, the strength of the Empire is indeed near and dear to every Britain over the seas. Again I quote from that true Briton, Canon Scott :

"Great God, uphold us in our task,
Keep pure and clean our rule,
Silence the honeyed words which mask
The wisdom of the fool.
The pillars of the world are Thine;
Pour down Thy bounteous grace,
And make illustrious and divine
The sceptre of our race."

We have had a hundred years of peace between our country and the United States. May the great structures across the Niagara River be ever consecrated to peaceful commerce between the people to the south of us and ourselves. Never again will there be a shot fired in anger between these two countries; both have a mission to fulfill,

let our only rivalry be which will do most for the good of humanity. May the great Empire of which we form a part be ever foremost in the effort to bring about the time—

“When the war drum beats no longer,
And the battle flags are furled
In the Parliament of man
The federation of the world.”

The cable news this evening tells us that our beloved King said to-day at a public reception in Germany that he would follow the steps of his dear father in the promotion of peace in the world.

With trusting hearts in the great future of our country, proud of our birthright, sharers of Britain's glory, and as Canadians claiming the rights which to Britons belong, let us guard well the great inheritance which has been bequeathed to us, adding lustre to our country by lives of noble deeds, perpetuating the grand history of the land from which most of us have sprung, and which has made Britain so distinguished and honored an example to the world. Canadians are welded heart to heart in loyalty to the British Empire, the greatest and most glorious the world has ever seen since the days of creation. Great is our inheritance and great is our trust. May we hand down unimpaired to generations yet unborn the priceless blessings we enjoy under British rule.

“God of our fathers be the God
Of their succeeding race.”

True to the Empire, Canadians would live for its glory and would die for its safety—Canada will be British blue forever,

One flag, one fleet, one Empire.

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